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George Washington

From the Painting by Rembrandt Peale

Life and Times
of
David Humphreys

Soldier—Statesman—Poet

“Belov’d of Washington”

By
Frank Landon Humphreys

In Two Volumes

Volume Two



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Life and Times of David Humphreys

The Life of David Humphreys

CHAPTER I

Humphreys' Diplomatic Career

State of Indian Affairs in 1789—Restlessness of the Creeks—Alexander McGillivray—Washington's Message—Appointment of Three Commissioners for Treating with Indians—Humphreys Placed on Commission—Describes His Journey in Letter to Washington—McGillivray's great Influence with Indians—His Character, Appearance, and Antecedents—His Double Dealings—Negotiations Broken off in Consequence—Humphreys Announces to Washington the Failure of the Negotiations—Humphreys' Return to Mount Vernon—Description of his Journey to Washington—Account of Failure of Negotiations as Given by Gen. Lincoln and Recorded by Dr. Stiles—Trumbull's Letter to Oliver Wolcott—Jefferson's Erroneous Forecast of French Affairs in Letter to Humphreys—Possibility of War Between Spain and Great Britain—Position of Mr. Carmichael as *Chargé d'Affaires* at Madrid—Friendly Attitude of Portugal to the United States—Advisability of Sending a Secret Agent to Europe—Selection of Humphreys for that Post—His Instructions Drawn up by Jefferson.

THE Indian affairs of the United States were in the summer of 1789 in an unsatisfactory condition.

On the frontier Gen. Harmar with an insufficient force was holding in check the Western Indians. In the south the powerful Creek Nation was harassing the people of Georgia. This powerful Confederation occupied the

territory from the Atlantic to the highland separating the waters of the Tombigbee River from those of the Alabama River and the whole of Florida. Traditionally, they sprang from the earth and had emigrated to their present location from the north-west. In 1540 De Soto penetrated to their chief settlements in the fertile region watered by the Ocmulgee, Coosa and Tallapoosa rivers. They had been friendly with the Spaniards, French and English.

Gen. Oglethorpe on his coming to Georgia held his first interview with them on the site of Savannah.

They were independent and warlike and had more intelligence than some other tribes. They had at this time fifty towns and six thousand warriors. During the Revolution they had been firm allies of the English and their country became a refuge for Tories from the Carolinas and Georgia.

After the war, treaties had been made with them by the State of Georgia, but the Creeks claimed that the stipulated terms had not been kept. One very strong reason for their hostility was the presence among them of Spanish agents. The authorities of Louisiana were determined to keep the navigation of the Mississippi wholly in their hands and to allow the United States no commercial privileges at New Orleans. The policy of the Cabinet at Madrid was both craftily and successfully carried out by its agent in Florida and Louisiana.

The person of greatest influence in the nation was Alexander McGillivray, a shrewd politician, a keen man of business, and thoroughly opposed to the United States. It was supposed that he was in the pay of the Spanish. He was the son of a Scotch trader who married the daughter of a Sachem of the Creek Nation. He had been educated at Charleston and afterwards placed with a merchant at Savannah to learn business methods. He

was then an extensive Indian trader and had a large store and warehouse at Pensacola. Being thirty-two years old he had all the confidence as well as positiveness of youth.

The serious nature of the pillaging and threatening of the Creeks was brought to the attention of the President. Could a satisfactory treaty be made with this nation by the United States it would aid in the future course of development in the south-west, and allow free access to the Mississippi. It would open up for settlement lands that were now valueless on account of their hostility.

The President sent on August 22, a message to Congress on this subject. As the three treaties recently made by Georgia with the Creek nation were not being observed it was necessary for the government to ascertain reasons why their validity was disputed. He was of the opinion that a commission should be appointed to investigate the matter critically, "so that further measures of government be formed on a full knowledge of the case."¹

At eleven o'clock the President met "the Senate in the Chamber of Congress to confer with them upon the important subject of the approaching negotiations and treaties with the southern Indians and to make the necessary arrangements of their business."

After this Conference he appointed three "Commissioners for treating with the Indians South of the Ohio," Gen. Lincoln of Massachusetts, one of his trusted officers in the Revolution and recently Lieutenant Governor of Massachusetts, Col. Humphreys his former aide-de-camp, and the Hon. Cyrus Griffin of Virginia, the last President of the Continental Congress, and afterward a Federal

¹ *Journal of the House of Representatives of the United States, Anno MDCCCXXIX*, p. 98, New York: Francis Childs & John Swain.

Judge in Virginia. An elaborate set of instructions was given to them for their guidance.

Leaving New York early in September they travelled partly by water, but principally by horseback and carriage.

From Savannah they went by carriage to Augusta, nearly one hundred and fifty miles from the coast. From this town their way was through a rough but attractive country for more than fifty miles to Rock Landing on the Oconee where the Creeks had assembled their chiefs and McGillivray for a council. Some details which supplement the official dispatches are found in these entertaining letters of Col. Humphreys to the President.

ROCK LANDING, Sept. 21, 1789.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

I did not trouble you with a letter from Savannah because our public Dispatch to the Secretary at War would inform you of our proceedings to that time. Besides the apprehensive nature of the intollerable heat & exertion we were obliged to make to get forward on our journey occasioned such a relaxation & consequent sickness as rendered me almost incapable of writing. We are all now well.

After a fatiguing journey through the deep sands which prevail from Savannah to Augusta, we reached the latter on the evening of the 17th instant. We intended to remain there one day to make arrangements with the Executive for the Negotiation & to take measures for forwarding our stores, which were expected at Augusta by water in a few days; but upon receiving information from Messrs. Dickens & Osborne that the Indians were growing very impatient to return to their homes & that they could not possibly be detained but a few days longer, we recommenced our journey that evening. The next day the iron axtle tree of our carriage broke at a great distance from any house, which accident occasioned the loss of the whole day. Being determined to arrive at the Rock Landing the following evening according to our last letter to

Mr. McGillivray, Gen. Lincoln & myself took two of the carriage horses, with a guide & proceeded twenty-five miles that night. Yesterday, we reached this place at dark after having travelled a long distance before we reached the Ogeechee and from the Ogeechee to the Ocnee (between 30 & 40 miles) through a dreary wilderness, in which there was not a single house. Mr. Griffin, with Mr. Few & Col^o Franks, were to come on as soon as the carriage could be mended, for which arrangements were taken before we left them. We announced our arrival & readiness to proceed to business to McGillivray last night. He is about three miles on the other side of the Ocnee with all the Indians & we have not yet seen him. It is but justice to say that from everything which we have yet learned the former Commissioners have conducted themselves with respect to the present negotiations in a very commendable manner. The Executive have resolved to give us every aid & facility in the business. We have not been here long enough to be assured of the prospects of success, or to know the difficulties that may occur. All we can say is that we shall act with all the zeal & perseverance to promote the public service, which may be in our power. It is a favourable circumstance that the present Commission is certainly very acceptable to the whole State, unless a few land jobbers be excepted. It is also pretty well ascertained that McGillivray is desirous of Peace and his word is a Law to the Creeks.

With my best respects to Mrs. Washington, love to the Children & Compliments to the Gentlemen of the family,

I have the honor to be, My dear General,

With the purest attachment & respect

Your most obliged & very humble Servt.

D. HUMPHREYS.

P. S. The number of Indians, I believe, does not amount to more than 2000, notwithstanding the exaggerated accounts we had received.¹

¹ U. S. Archives, State Dept., Washington, D. C.

ROCK LANDING, Sepr. 26th, 1789.MY DEAR GEN^T:

Finding an opportunity to Augusta, I could not excuse myself from giving you the progress of our negotiation since my last.

On Monday last (that is to say the day after the arrival of Gen. Lincoln & myself) a deputation from all the Creeks of the Tuccassee, the Hallowing & the Tellasee Kings waited upon us, to congratulate us on our arrival, to express in general terms their desire for peace to smoke the pipe of friendship as a token of it, and to brush our faces with the white wing of reconciliation in sign of their sincere intention to wipe away all past grievances, we gave them friendly assurances in return; they, with the fat King, the Euchee King, and two or three other great Chiefs dined with us, & seemed well satisfied. In the afternoon we crossed to the Indian Camp had an interview with McGillivray, showed him our full powers and asked in writing for such evidence of theirs as the nature of the case would admit. Much general talk, expressive of real desire to establish a permanent peace upon equitable terms, took place.

The next day McGillivray dined with us and although he got very much intoxicated, he seemed to retain his recollection, & reason, beyond what I had ever seen in a person, when in the same condition. At this time I became intimate to a certain degree with him & endeavored to extract his real sentiments & feelings, in a conversation alone confidentially. He declared he was really desirous of a peace, that the local situation of the Creeks required that they should be connected with us rather than with any other People, that, however, they had certain advantages in their Treaty with Spain, in respect to a guarantee & Trade, which they ought not in justice to themselves to give up without an equivalent. Upon his desiring to know what were our intentions, especially as he knew from my character & from my having been long in habits of intimacy with Gen. Washington that I would tell him what he might depend upon; I assured him upon, my honour, that our policy with respect to his nation was indeed founded upon

honesty, magnanimity & mutual advantages. We descended to no particulars, farther than my assuring him of our good opinion of his abilities & desire to attach him upon principles perfectly consistent with the good of his nation, to our interests. I concluded by intimating what, in that case, we might possibly consider ourselves at liberty to do for him. Mr. Griffin, arrived that night. Wednesday was occupied by arranging the proposed Draught of a Treaty & drawing up a Talk to be delivered the next day. The other Commissioners desired me to go over the Oconee & communicate these draughts in confidence to McGillivray. I did, and found him dissatisfied with the proposed boundary & some other things. Gen. Lincoln had in the morning been in McGillivray's camp & agreed with him that the Chiefs should receive our propositions at our Camp but finding a jealousy prevailed with some of the Indians, lest a design might be formed to circumvent them, on my return, we wrote that if it was more convenient to all would make our communication in their Camp. This proposal they acquiesced in very gratefully.

On Thursday at 11 o'clock we were received with more etiquette than ever I had before witnessed at the great Ceremony of *Black Drink*. We made our Communications in the square of the nation, and returned.

Yesterday morning McGillivray wrote to us that the Chiefs had been in council until the night before, that they objected to some part of our Talks & principally to that which related to Boundary; that it was however his decision on that, the matter should rest as it was for the present; and that a kind of Truce should be established until they should hear farther from us on the part of the United States: In the meantime he signified that some presents to the Chiefs would be necessary. In answer we wrote him, after recapitulating the substance of the letter, that as the Chiefs objected to some articles proposed by us, we desired to receive from them in writing the only terms upon which they would enter into a Treaty with us; that as we were as well prepared to treat now as we should be at any other time we did not believe that it was by any means probable that the United States would ever send another

commission to them & that we were not authorized to make any presents whatsoever, unless we should conclude a Treaty of Peace with them—Finding from verbal information that a capital misconception had happened to the Indian Chiefs, with regard to one of the Rivers marked in the Boundary; the other Commissioners desired me to go over to the Creek Camp, explain the mistake to McGillivray & make the necessary alteration in the Draught. I had a very long private conversation with him and he appeared for himself to be much better contented than he had hitherto been. The difficulties in regard to Boundary seemed to be in a great measure overcome, and an apprehension of the ill consequences of their breaking with Spain together with an earnest solicitude to have a free (unencumbered) Port were now apparently the great obstacles. He was very much agitated, very much embarrassed; and hardly knew what to determine upon. After I left him, he expressed to an Interpreter a belief that a permanent Peace might take place before we parted.—How that may be probably this day will decide. In the afternoon yesterday McGillivray sent over John Galphin, with Galphin's father-in-law, the Hallowing King, to acquaint us that all the Towns, except the Cowetas were removed about two miles back, for the sake of pasture for their horses—Should they go off without any farther discussions it will be a clear indication that they prefer a connection with Spain; that they wish for war, rather than for Peace.

I have not leisure to give you a description of the person & character of McGillivray. His countenance has nothing liberal and open in it. It has, however, sufficient marks of understanding. In short he appears to have the good sense of an American, the shrewdness of a Scotchman & the cunning of an Indian. I think he is so much addicted to debauchery that he will not live four years. He dresses altogether in the Indian fashion & is rather slovenly than otherwise.

His influence is probably as great as we have understood it was. And his services may certainly be very important, if he can be sincerely attached to our Interests. I hope to have hereafter the honor of reporting to you the substance of several

confidential discourses which have occurred between him & me.

My most affectionate regards to Mrs. Washington & the family conclude me

With every sentiment of devotion & consideration,

My dear General,

Your most obliged friend & humble Servant

D. HUMPHREYS.

The Commissioners have acted perfectly harmoniously in every measure which they have hitherto taken. The Characters of Gen. Lincoln & Mr. Griffin have the greatest weight with the Georgians & the Creeks.¹

The reasons for the breaking off the negotiations are set forth in this letter:

ROCK LANDING, Septr 27, 1789.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

Since I had the honor of writing to you yesterday, some things have happened, of which I conceive it expedient, to give information by this conveyance.

On the evening of the 25th McGillivray omitted to comply with his positive promise to write to us or come over the river, in order to explain the objections of the Chiefs to the Project of the Treaty which he had proposed to them, and to propose alterations. Instead of removing as he had intimated by Galphin two miles back for the sake of pasture, we were informed in the forenoon yesterday that he had set out on his return to the Nation, without even deigning to send us any written or verbal message. It is true, he permitted an Indian trader to inform us (of his own motion) of this fact, and that he (McGillivray) would halt for that day, at Commissioners' Creek, fifteen or eighteen miles distant. McGillivray's pretenses for this movement homeward (if rightly reported) are of the most frivolous & unjustifiable nature. He is said to

¹ U. S. Archives, State Dept., Washington, D. C.

pretend to be dissatisfied, that, in a private conversation I had questioned the Powers of himself & those present to make a treaty that would be binding upon the whole Nation. The fact is far otherwise. When he spoke of the invalidity of some of the Treaties between Georgia and the Creeks, because the latter were not fully represented, I asked him how it was to be proved that their Nation was fully represented at this time? I lamented that the uncivilized state of the nation would not perhaps admit of the same evidence to Legalize proceedings which civilized Nations required, and enquired whether the White Lieutenant (a very great Chief not present) would agree to whatever should now be done? It is farther said by the Indian Trader above mentioned, that McGillivray pretended I had told him, that upon making this Treaty with us, he must entirely break with the Spanish government.—I told him on the contrary that as far as I could learn from him the nature of his connection with Spain, I did not suppose the proposed Treaty to be incompatible with it, that I would not wish him to do anything which should in the least injure his good faith, but that, if a connection with us and with Spain was incompatible it was doubtless in his option to decide which of the two Powers he would be connected with.

These misrepresentations are not the only reprehensible things we have seen in his conduct. He made a false pretext, "that the Indians were so much alarmed for their personal safety that they dared not trust themselves in our Camp and that two Towns were on the point of going home on the same account," in order that we might go over and make our talk in their Camp. And indeed he insists that though we were formerly, when connected with Britain, styled their Father & older brother, yet we are at present truly their younger Brother. The falsehood of the pretext that the Indians were so much alarmed for their safety that they dared not trust themselves in our Camp was clearly evinced yesterday. About 11 o'clock almost, or quite all, the principal Chiefs of the Upper & Lower Towns (with a great number of Individuals) came over to shake hands with us, and to assure us in a long talk that they were not at all offended with us, that they desired peace, very

much; that though they could not conclude a Peace without McGillivray, their beloved Man, (who was sick) yet they had inculcated upon all their People to abstain from all hostility & plundering under threats of the severest punishment. In short they seemed to consider a peace as mutually wished for, and in fact, agreed upon, except in the forms. In answer we gave them assurances that the United States entertained the most just & friendly dispositions towards them, and hoped that a Treaty might still be concluded before we separated finally. We wished them to use their influence with McGillivray that he would return & renew the negotiation. For which purpose we informed them we were sending one more pressing message to McGillivray by Gen. Pickens & Mr. Few, who went soon after to see him accordingly. Several of the Kings dined with us, and remained until night with the greatest possible apparent good humour and indications of a sincere desire for Peace. The White Bird King spoke first in the name of the Whole. The Tellasee King, after dinner, made a long and, as well as we could understand from an indifferent interpretation, a pathetic Oration to all the Kings, Head Men, & People urging the necessity of being in strict Amity with the Whites, as they prized their existence & everything dear to them. All were greatly affected & some shed tears. The only great Representative from the Seminoles sent back, after he left us, a confirmation of the same good dispositions by the Interpreter. Upon the whole, I believe, that no room for doubt was left in the mind of any one present, that, if a Peace shall not be concluded, the fault will rest with McGillivray alone, who holds up in his conversations, as it best suits his convenience, that he does every thing himself in national affairs, or that he can do nothing without humouring & consulting the Indians. It is a melancholy consideration to reflect that a whole Nation must sometimes perish for the sins of one man.

I shall defer closing this letter until the return of Gen. Pickens & Mr. Few. While I feel a consciousness that our transactions will stand approved in the eye of reason & justice; I apprehend that we can never depend upon McGillivray for

his firm attachment to the interests of the United States. And yet, I believe, he regards the interests of the United States just as much as he does the interests of the Creek Nation. If I mistake not his character, his own importance & pecuniary emolument are the objects which will altogether influence his conduct. It was held out in discourse yesterday by John Galphin, a Creature of McGillivray, that a pressing invitation has just been sent from the Spaniards (accompanied by a vast quantity of Ammunition) for McGillivray to come & treat with them. I fancy he now wavers between Spain & America; for which reason he wishes in all likelihood to postpone the farther negotiation with the latter until the spring. It is, however, questionable whether he has ever had a former Treaty with, or received a genuine Commission from the King of Spain. Probably, his hopes have been much elevated lately, in so much as to induce him to believe that he can obtain better terms for himself from that King than from us. Gen. Pickens & Few are just now returned and report that they found McGillivray not at the distance he was said to be, but on the other side of the Ochmulgee. He would not give the terms on which the Creeks would make Peace, or come back to renew the negotiations on the subject. He objected only to three articles, being under the protection of the United States, not having a port perfectly free from duties, & the proposed boundary, but his objection seemed to be of the least weight with himself against the last. They fully coincide with me in opinion that he is determined to see, whether he cannot obtain more advantageous terms from Spain than from the United States. The fact is also said by these gentlemen to be established that a large quantity of Arms & ammunition has lately arrived in the Creek nation, with a friendly Talk from the Governor at Pensacola. McGillivray wrote us a letter in very general terms in which he affected to consider our first Draught of a Treaty, as our ultimatum. This was both contrary to his good sense, & to repeated positive assurance. We shall write to him by an Indian Trader to day very explicitly. And after taking farther measures to ascertain facts as may be in our power we shall commence our journey through North Carolina

to New York. Thus the business seems to be terminated for the present, though not according to our wishes.

With Sentiments of the purest respect I have the honor to be, My dear General,

Your most obliged & Most Humble Servt,

D. HUMPHREYS.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.¹

In his other letters the Colonel gives a good description of the return journey and sketches understandingly the political condition of North Carolina.

SEVENTEEN MILES EAST OF
CAMDEN, Octr 13, 1789.

MY DEAR GEN^L:—

Having been led to believe that this route was the shortest and best, we left Augusta this day week, and having now an opportunity by Charles Town, I write (in conformity to the intimation you was pleased to give) for the purpose of keeping you advised of our progress.

From the Savannah at Augusta to the Congaree at Friday's ferry, a distance of about 80 or 90 miles is a continuation of Sandy Roads & Pine Woods. Houses are scarce & accomodations miserable. The Congaree formed by the Junction of the Saluda & Broad River, just above *Friday's Ferry*, is navigable for Boats with 60 Hogsheads to the *latter*. Two Miles from which is the new Town of Columbia, now the Capital of the State, in which they are erecting the largest State House on the Continent, for the General Assembly to occupy next Spring. At Camden, Elliot Lee is said to have lost at play Magnolia & a dozen more excellent Horses. Magnolia is now at Santee about 20 miles below Camden, & might be purchased for two hundred Pounds.

In our journey we broke at different times, the Pole & Axletree of the Carriage which we got repaired at Friday's ferry.

On the 10th we made a journey of forty Miles, from the

¹ U. S. Archives, State Dept., Washington, D. C.

Congaree to the Wateree. At the Head of the Boat Navigation, on the latter Camden is situated. The two Rivers, Congaree & Wateree, form the Santee by their conflux about 20 miles below Camden. At this place we passed Sunday, visited the grave of De Kalb & obtained some informations relative to the interesting military transactions which happened in & near it. Camden does not contain quite so many Houses as Augusta, but they are larger and better built. The Inhabitants have an elegant Assembly Room, and are entertained with Concerts or Plays every week. We drank Tea at the House of Col^o Kershaw, who was the very first Settler of Camden, & who is also the founder of three other considerable Towns. He had been extremely useful to Gen. Lincoln in the War. Yesterday, we came from Camden to this place by 12 o'clock. After refreshing our Horses, we set out to make another Stage. In passing from the House on a side hill, one of the hind wheels crushed to the ground under us and every spoke in it was broken. At some places, where we found nothing but pines for 20 miles & not a House in that space, the catastrophe would have been very distressing. Here, we were fortunate in finding accidentally, a House-Joiner from Camden. We collected Tools enough in four or five miles to begin a new wheel, and I hope the disaster will not retard us more than 24 hours. Although we have very unfavourable accounts of the heaviness of the roads through which we are to pass, I expect we shall reach the borders of North Carolina by a great exertion, tomorrow night.

We have not yet heard anything from New York since we left it. The only Newspaper which has fallen into our hands was from Charles Town, & contained accounts of violent tumults in France.

Curiosity is strongly excited but I do not imagine we shall learn the farther particulars before our arrival in Virginia—Adieu my dear General, and be pleased to believe me, your Sincerest friend & most devoted Serv^t,

D. HUMPHREYS—

GEN. WASHINGTON.¹

¹ U. S. Archives, State Dept., Washington, D. C.

It was a very real disappointment to Washington to learn of the failure of the Commission. It confirmed the suspicion that Spain was determined the United States should not have any power in the south-west, and that McGillivray was ready to make terms with them on behalf of the Creeks.

Dr. Stiles records in his *Diary* an account of the negotiations given him by General Lincoln who spent an evening with the Doctor at New Haven on his way to Boston. The General drew a plan of the square formed by trees in the centre of which was the Council-fire. When the Commissioners crossed the Oconee they were formally welcomed, and conducted to a log in front of the opening of the square upon which they were seated until summoned by more important chiefs within the square, when they were with great ceremony seated upon a log at the west side, the Indians sitting around the fire on the other side. Upon the Council-fire was a pot in which the "black Liquor" was brewing; after being served with this they smoked the pipe of peace when General Lincoln arose and spoke to the Council of the desire of their Elder Brother for peace and friendship with them and presented the draft of a treaty. At noon the Commissioners returned to their camp on the other side of the Oconee.

The Council was in session until night and then broke up without any definite action. The only result of the expedition was an agreement to cease from hostilities, and the gift to General Washington of the "White Fan," a symbol of peace presented through General Lincoln.¹

The report of the Commissioners was presented to Congress on November 17. It was accompanied with a Journal in which many interesting details of the journey and negotiations are given, and illustrations of the skill

¹ President Stiles's *Diary*, iii., pp. 371-373.

and finesse with which the Indians evaded the main question before the Council.¹

A letter from the Hon. John Trumbull to the Hon. Oliver Wolcott then auditor of the Treasury written from Hartford on December 9, 1789, has this amusing reference to the Commission:

Pray congratulate Colonel Humphreys, in my name on his late promotion in the diplomatic line. If I understand the matter rightly, he holds the same post which Crispe promised George in the Vicar of Wakefield.²

You remember Crispe told him there was an embassy talked of from the Synod of Pennsylvania to the Chickasaw Indians, and he would use his interest to get him appointed Secretary.

Tell him not to be discouraged too much at his want of success. The President has tried him on McGillivray first and he did not suit the skull of the savage, but we cannot argue from that circumstance that he could not fit as easy as a bottomed wig upon the fat headed, sot headed, and crazy headed sovereigns of Europe.

Tell him this story also, for his comfort, and to encourage his hopes of speedy employment:

A King being angry with an Ambassador, asked him whether his master had no wise men at his court and therefore obliged to send him a fool?

"Sire," said the other, "my master has many wise men about his court, but he conceived me the most proper ambassador for your Majesty!" Upon this principle I am in daily expectation of hearing that he is appointed minister plenipo to George, Louis, or the Stadholder. For is it not his name *Mumps*?³

¹ See *American Archives, Indian Affairs*, i., pp. 65-68. "Instructions" signed by the President and Secretary of War. Report with Journal, November 17, 1789—Letter to the Secretary of War with "A Plan for Offensive and Defensive Measures," November 20, 1789.

² Mr. Trumbull was unaware that the Colonel was a full Commissioner and not Secretary.

³ *Memoirs of the Administrations of Washington and John Adams*, edited from the Papers of Oliver Wolcott, Secretary of the Treasury, by George

Col. Humphreys resumed his duties in the President's family, and attended to much of the official correspondence and drafted many State Papers for the President's approval.

The French Revolution, which to some Americans in Europe seemed to be an outburst of the spirit of liberty against oppression, had at this time passed its preliminary stage. The convoking of the States General had been promised by Louis XVI., and all looked forward to a bloodless victory over oppressive taxation and other evils.

Mr. Jefferson in a letter to Humphreys from Paris, wrote thus jubilantly, but with very little foresight or apprehension of the real state of affairs in France:

PARIS, Mar. 18, 1789.

DEAR SIR:—

Your favor of Nov. 29, 1788, came to hand the last month. How it happened that mine of Aug. 1787, was fourteen months on its way, is inconceivable. I do not recollect by what conveyance I sent it. I had concluded, however, either that it had miscarried or that you had become indolent, as most of our countrymen are, in matters of correspondence.

The change in this country since you left it, is such as you can form no idea of. The frivolities of conversation have given way entirely to politicks, men, women & children talk nothing else; and all, you know, talk a great deal. The press groans with daily productions, which in point of boldness make an Englishman stare who hitherto has thought himself the boldest of men. A complete revolution in this government has, within the space of two years (for it began with the Notables of 1787) been effected merely by the force of public opinion, aided indeed by the want of money, which the dissipations of the court had brought on, and this revolution has not cost a single life, unless we charge to it a little riot lately in Bretagne, which began about the price of bread, became

Gibbs. *Nullius addictus jurare in verba Magistri.* New York. Printed for the Subscribers, 1846, i., p. 25.

afterwards political and ended in the loss of 4 or 5 lives. The Assembly of the States General begins the 27th of April. The representation of the people will be perfect. But, they will be alloyed by an equal number of nobility & clergy. The first great question they will have to decide will be, whether they shall vote by orders or persons, & I have hopes that the majority of the Nobles are already disposed to join the Tiers État in deciding that the vote shall be by persons. This is the opinion *à la mode* at present and mode has acted a wonderful part in the present instance. All the handsome young women, for example, are for the Tiers État, and this is an army more powerful in France than the 200,000 men of the King. Add to this, that the court itself is for the Tiers État, as the only agent which can relieve their wants; not by giving money themselves (they are squeezed to the last drop) but by pressing it from the non-contributing orders. The King stands engaged to pretend no more to the powers of laying,^{*} continuing or appropriating taxes; to call the States General periodically, to submit *lettres de cachet* to legal restrictions, to consent to freedom of the press, and that all this shall be fixed by a fundamental constitution, which shall bind his successors. He has not offered a participation in the legislature, but it will surely be insisted on. The public mind is so ripened on all these subjects, that there seems to be now but one opinion. The clergy indeed think separately and the old men among the Nobles; but their voice is suppressed by the general one of the nation. The writings published on this occasion are some of them very valuable; because unfettered by the prejudices under which the English labor, they give a full scope to reason, and strike out truths as yet unperceived and unacknowledged on the other side the channel. An Englishman, dosing under a kind of half reformation, is not excited to think by such gross absurdities as stare a Frenchman in the face, wherever he looks, whether it be towards the throne or the altar. In fine, I believe this nation will in the course of the present year have as full a portion of liberty dealt out to them as the nation can bear at present, considering how uninformed the mass of their people is. This

^{*} So in original. Probably levying was intended.



The Banquet Hall at Mount Vernon

While a member of the family Humphreys sat at the head of the table and carved. Mrs. Washington sat at the foot and General Washington on her right

circumstance will prevent their immediate establishment of the trial by jury. The palsied state of the executive in England is a fortunate circumstance for France, as it will give them time to arrange their affairs internally. The consolidation and funding their debts will give them a credit which will enable them to do what they please. For the present year the war will be confined to the two empires, and Denmark against Turkey & Sweden. It is not yet evident whether Prussia will be engaged. If the disturbances of Poland break into overt acts, it will be a power, divided in itself, and so of no weight. Perhaps, by the next year England & France may be ready to take the field. It will depend on the former principally; for the latter, so she may be then able, must have still a little time to see her new arrangements well under way. The English papers & English ministry say the King is well. He is better, but not well; no malady requires a longer time to ensure against its return than insanity. Time, alone, can distinguish accidental insanity from natural lunacy.¹ The operations which have taken place in America lately fill me with pleasure. In the first place they realize the confidence I had that, whenever our affairs get obviously wrong, the good sense of the people will interpose & set them to rights. The example of changing a constitution by assembling the wise men of the state, instead of assembling armies, will be worth as much to the world as the former examples we had given them. The constitution too, which was the result of our deliberations, is unquestionably the wisest ever yet presented to men, and some of the accommodations of interest which it has adopted are greatly pleasing to me who have before had occasions of seeing how difficult those interests were to accommodate. A general concurrence of opinions seems to authorize us to say it has some defects. I am one of those who think it a defect that the important rights, not placed in security by the frame of the constitution itself, were not explicitly secured by a supplementary declaration. There are rights which it is useless to surrender to the government, and which yet governments have always been fond to

¹ King George recovered his health and went publicly to St. Paul's Cathedral to return thanks on April 2, 1789.

evade. These are the rights of thinking and publishing our thoughts by speaking or writing; the right of free commerce; the right of personal freedom. There are instruments for administering the government so peculiarly trust worthy, that we should never leave the legislature at liberty to change them. The new constitution has secured these to the executive & legislative departments; but not in the judiciary. It should have established trials by the people themselves, that is to say by jury. There are instruments so dangerous to the rights of the nation, and which place them so totally at the mercy of their governors that those governors whether legislative, or executive, should be restrained from carrying such instruments on foot but in well defined cases. Such an instrument is a standing army. We are now allowed to say such a declaration of rights, as a supplement to the constitution, where that is silent, is wanting to secure us in these points. The general voice has legitimated this objection. It has not, however, authorized me to consider as a real defect that I thought and still think one, the perpetual reeligibility of the president. But three states out of eleven having declared against this, we must suppose we are wrong according to the fundamental law of every society. The *vox majoris partis* to which we are bound to submit. And should the majority change their opinion & become sensible that this trait in their constitution is wrong I would wish it to remain uncorrected as long as we can avail ourselves of the services of our great leader, whose talents and whose weight of character I consider as peculiarly necessary to get the government so under way as that it may afterwards be carried on by subordinate characters.

I must give you sincere thanks for the details of small news contained in your letter. You know how precious that kind of information is to a person absent from his country, and how difficult it is to be procured. I hope to receive soon permission to visit America this summer, and to possess myself anew by conversation with my countrymen, of their spirit & their ideas. I know only the Americans of the year 1784. They tell me this is to be much a stranger to those of 1789. This re-

newal of acquaintance is no indifferent matter to one acting at such a distance as that instructions cannot be received hot & hot. One of my pleasures too will be that of talking over the old & new with you. In the meantime & at all times, I have the honour to be, with great & sincere esteem,

Dear Sir,

Your friend & Servant,

TH. JEFFERSON.¹

The claim by Spain of jurisdiction over Nootka Sound, off Vancouver, on the Pacific Coast seemed to be the prelude to war between Spain and England in the summer of 1790.

The assembling of the States General in France in May, 1789, was the actual commencement of fundamental changes in that country watched carefully by America, as the Marquis de La Fayette was at this time its nominal leader.

The development of the spirit of equality there had an influence over other European nations. Should Spain and England actually commence hostilities the pending negotiations with Spain might be brought to a satisfactory conclusion and the people of the West enjoy the natural outlet for their products, the Mississippi. Spain also might be an ally in the recovery of the Western posts from the British. Mr. Carmichael, the *chargé d'affaires* at Madrid had been the secretary of Mr. Jay when he was accredited to that Court with the special purpose of negotiating a commercial treaty, and had remained as *chargé* under the Confederation. He was confirmed in his office by the new government on April 20, 1790.

His long residence abroad made this, it was thought, a suitable appointment. The changes which had taken place in the United States, the difficulty of communicating by letter all the instructions necessary, justified the dis-

¹ U. S. Archives, State Dept., Washington, D. C.

patch of a special messenger to convey orally the sentiments of the government in regard to the question in dispute between the two governments.

Portugal with whom several of the States of the Union had a considerable trade had manifested a disposition to enter into closer relations.

It might even be expedient to have a *chargé d'affaires* appointed to the Court of Lisbon, if the Prime Minister thought well of such a project.

After due deliberation the President and his Cabinet determined to send a special secret agent to Europe upon whose reports the future conduct of foreign affairs might be regulated.

In August, 1790, Col. Humphreys was chosen for this important and delicate mission. He was to maintain his private character, to gather information in London as to the probabilities of war or peace, to proceed to Portugal and there learn the intentions of the Court of Lisbon and thence to Madrid to consult with Mr. Carmichael. His letter of instructions was carefully drawn up by Mr. Jefferson under the sanction of the President.

NEW YORK, August 11, 1790.

SIR,—

The President having thought proper to confide several special matters in Europe to your care, it will be expedient that you take your passage in the first convenient vessel bound to the port of London. When there you will be pleased to deliver to Mr. G. Morris and to Mr. Johnson the letters and papers you will have in charge for them, to communicate to us from thence any interesting public intelligence you may be able to obtain, and then to take as early passage as possible to Lisbon. At Lisbon you will deliver the letter with which you are charged for the Chevalier Pinto, putting on it the address proper to his present situation. You know the contents of

this letter, and will make it the subject of such conferences with him as may be necessary to obtain our point of establishing there the diplomatic grade which alone coincides with our system and of insuring its reception and treatment with the requisite respect. Communicate to us the result of your conferences and then proceed to Madrid.

There, you will deliver the letters and papers which you have in charge for Mr. Carmichael, the contents of which are known to you.

Be so good as to multiply as much as possible your conferences with him in order to possess him fully of the special matters sketched out in those papers, and of the state of our affairs in general.

Your stay there, as long as the object may require, only taking care to return to Lisbon by the time you may reasonably expect our answers to your Letters, to be written from Lisbon, may reach that place. This cannot be earlier than the first or second week of January. These answers will convey to you the President's further pleasure.

Through the whole of this business it will be best that you avoid all suspicion of being on any public business. This need be known only to the Chevalier Pinto and Mr. Carmichael. The former need not know of your journey to Madrid, or, if it be necessary, he may be made to understand that it is a journey of curiosity, to fill up the interval between writing your letters and receiving the answers. To every other person it will be best that you appear as a private traveller.

The President of the United States allows you from this date at the rate of two thousand two hundred and fifty dollars a year for your services and expenses, and moreover what you may incur for the postage of letters; until he shall otherwise order.¹

¹ Jefferson's *Works*, iii., Edition of 1854, pp. 180, 181. Also Ford's *Jefferson*.

CHAPTER II

Humphreys in England

Humphreys Prepares for a Long Absence from America—Asks for Definite Instructions as to his Powers—His Farewell Letter to Washington—Sails Secretly—Announces his Arrival in London to Jefferson on October 14, 1790—His Remarkable Fitness and Aptitude for his Mission—Sends Full Account of Political Situation in England—Transmits Copy of Treaty of Peace between Russia and Sweden—State of Affairs in France—And in Europe—Letter of October 20th to Jefferson—Active War Preparations in England—Announces his Approaching Departure for Lisbon—Forms Acquaintance with Ozias Humphreys—Third Letter to Jefferson—Announces Victory of Russian Fleet over Turks—Adds Political Gossip Respecting Attitude of Prussia, the Netherlands, Sweden, Denmark, and Spain against England—Tippoo Saib's Declaration of War against England—Active Naval Preparations by England—Recommends that Salary be Attached to Office of Consul of U. S. at Port of London—Commands Consul Johnson's Services to him.

UPON his appointment to important secret diplomatic mission to Portugal, Col. Humphreys accordingly made his preparations in view of a long absence from America. He sought from the sources that were most reliable such facts as would be of advantage to him in his work. Desirous, however, to learn further the exact wishes of the President, the Secretary of State, and others who were conversant with European affairs and to know clearly the policy this government intended to adopt, he wrote to Mr. Jefferson from

MRS. HAVILAND'S TAVERN
RYE, July 31, 1790.

SIR:—

Upon finding that the Packet would sail sooner than I had expected I hastened to make the necessary arrangements for my departure. Apprehensive, however, that I may be too much pressed for time, to have opportunities of acquiring, in conversation, as much information as could have been desired on the different subjects which will claim attention I shall be extremely happy to have the deficiency supplied by such written Notes as Mr. Madison, Mr. Brown & yourself may think proper to give. The best possible care will be taken of all secret papers as well as of the Cyphers which shall be committed to me for my use and for the Consul, or Agent, who may be employed in London.

I beg to suggest whether a Copy of the Treaty as signed on our part with Portugal together with any observations which may have since occurred, will not be requisite for me.

It is my intention to be in New York on Tuesday night if practicable.

I have the honour to be, With Sentiments of the highest esteem, Sir,

Your most obedient & most humble Servant,

D. HUMPHREYS.

THE SECRETARY FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE.¹

For some unexplained reason the vessel did not sail as soon as was expected. In addition to the formal leave-taking of the President, Lady Washington, and his other friends, the Colonel spent his last hours in composing an affectionate farewell letter to his beloved and illustrious friend.

NEW YORK, September 1st. 1790.

MY DEAR GENERAL:—

In taking leave of you at the moment of your departure I strove in vain to check an impulse which I apprehended

¹ U. S. Archives, State Dept., Washington, D. C.

betrayed too much weakness, I found the burden on my heart choaked the passage of utterance. In that moment a multitude of ideas crowded into my mind. A long separation from one's friend & country, under an idea of going into a nation where one is a total stranger, however flattering or useful the object may be which occasions it, is in some respects, like a voluntary exile. I only make this remark for the sake of showing that notwithstanding I am perfectly satisfied with my destination, I could not, from political or philosophical motives, divest myself of my feelings as a man. I found nothing could have given such a poignancy to the pang of parting with Mrs. Washington & yourself but a fear of never seeing you both again. As I was unable to say what I wished to have said, I thought I would take this occasion of writing a line to you, previous to my leaving the Continent which might remain as a proof of my gratitude for all your kindness and a pledge of my honest zeal to justify your indulgent sentiments in my behalf, by the execution of my duty in the best manner my abilities will allow.

Yesterday, I had two pretty long conversations with the Secretary of the Treasury, in the course of which the general interests of the U. S. were discussed, and the several contingencies that might take place between them and the different European Powers. I was glad to have an opportunity of becoming acquainted with his sentiments, & to have it in my power to compare his reasoning on some important points with that of other political Characters.

The Vice-President read to me the night before last a letter from Dr. Cutting dated in London, on the 15th of June, in which he speaks of the probability of war, of the influence that probability has had in raising the American Reputation; and of the Mission of a public character from the Court of London to the U. S. with such overtures for obtaining their friendship as "the Guarantee of the Mississippi, the Settlement of disputes, the Delivery of the Posts and some advantages in Trade to the West Indies."

We are detained this day by contrary winds, I am impatient to be gone, as I think the Crisis is ripening very fast. As the

vessel in which I am to sail is British I have consulted the Secretaries of the States and the Treasury in order to learn what they would wish to have done with the Papers entrusted to me by them, respectively, in case hostility should have commenced between England & Spain, and in case the vessels should be captured by the latter. It is well to be prepared for all events. This is a possible, though I hope, not a probable, event.

I was sorry to find by Col. Walker's information to Mr. Lear that the vessel in which a passage had been taken was not deemed a very safe one. But the season is favorable & I trust from that circumstance, little hazard is to be apprehended. She is said to be a swift sailer. We shall now probably leave this Post about the same time with the English & French Packets.

August¹: I have kept this letter open untill the moment in which I should be called to embark. The tide & wind now suffer us to sail. No farther delay is permitted. The last act I shall do on shore, previous to my voyage, will be to assure you, that, of all the Admirers of your character, or friend to your person, there is no one who feels a more disinterested & inviolable attachment than

My dear General
Your sincere friend & Most obliged Servant
D. HUMPHREYS.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE U. S.²

Unlike his former voyage which he gracefully described in verse we have no details of his passage across the ocean. Even the name of the vessel does not appear on any of his letters, contemporary documents, printed books, or papers of the day. It may be that he purposely kept it secret that his leaving the city might not be known to any possible British agent.

On the very day of his arrival in England, he sent to the

¹ Humphreys here evidently forgets for the moment that the real date was September 1st.—ED.

² U. S. Archives, State Dept., Washington, D. C.

Secretary of State a letter announcing the fact. As we read the document we marvel at the fulness of its details and wealth of information, considering that he had been scarcely twenty-four hours in England. Humphreys' special characteristics were an alertness of mind and a quick perception of the root of the matter in men and things. His knowledge seems at times, almost intuitive. If it be true that a diplomatist is made and not born, then it certainly did not take very long to make Humphreys the best diplomatist which the first President of the United States had in his service.

LONDON, Oct^r 14th, 1790.

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE

SIR,

After a passage of five weeks four first of which were very tempestuous, I arrived in the channel. In order to save time and slip into London with the less probability of being noticed, I procured a boat from the shore to land me at Dover. From that place I took my passage in the mail Coach, and arrived here, at 6 o'clock this morning.

Having delivered the dispatches to Mr. Johnson, and seen some other Americans, I thought it expedient to take the first moment to give you, with the notice of my arrival, such detached pieces of political information as have been related to me.

The aspect of affairs on the Continent in general, and the complexion of the negotiations in Spain, about the middle of summer, induced the British administration to believe, that by their menaces & armaments, Peace would be preserved, and the honour of the nation not only saved, but even augmented in the judgment of the world. The Ministry seemed to have an overweening confidence in themselves. At that time Stocks rose rapidly, and nothing could exceed the exultation and pride of the nation. Since then considerable changes have taken place. The Spanish government has gained time, by artfully protracting the negotiations to learn where the efficient

Power actually resides in France and how that power was disposed towards them. It now scarcely admits of a doubt that the national assembly will yield its assistance in a defensive war; that is in case Britain should make the first attack. The treaty of Peace between Russia & Sweden, of which I send you a copy and which was effected by the superior address and prowess of the Empress has changed the face of affairs in the north for the worse, with regard to Britain. The English had counted much in their calculations on the exhausted State of the two empires, and the powerful combination, which was ready to assail them while they were involved in the war with the Porte. The Empress of Russia, having warded off a part of the storm from her dominions, is enabled to turn it on her part with redoubled fury on the Turks. News has been received within a few days of a capital advantage obtained by her fleet over the enemy in the black Sea. And the Prince Potemkin, at the head of 100,000 men is irresistible. These circumstances leave the Empress at liberty to afford her naval aid to the Spaniards, with whom it is believed she is strictly allied. It is also judged not improbable that Sweden and Denmark will do the same. So that of the boasted allies of Britain, the Dutch is the only one capable of giving them any naval succour. The Dutch are slowly arming, under the influence of the Stadholder, contrary to the wishes of Amsterdam and a considerable party. Six or eight of their ships have been in the channel but are returned to the Texel. They have twenty in commission.

The English have seventy-five, of which about forty are well manned. From the amazing quantity of supplies contracted for within a few days, and from all appearances it is now thought, more than ever, that war is inevitable. On no other ground could the minister be justified in incurring such an enormous expense.

Three Messengers are now in Spain. The last of whom, most imagine, is gone with orders to recall the Minister. The press still continues hot. I suppose Dr. Cutting who was employed by some masters of American vessels to assist them in obtaining the liberation of their men, has given you a report

of the difficulties and wrongs to which the American Seamen have been subjected in many instances. Affairs in France remain in much the same situation they have been, for some time past.

The Duke of Orleans, and many of the considerable Refugees have returned home. A counter revolution has been much spoken of, and often predicted in this country and by the friends to the Aristocrats. But the affair of Nancy, in which the National troops behaved with unexampled firmness as well as enthusiasm, through the course of a long and sharp action, gives occasion for a very different belief. The Temper and feelings of 3 or 4,000,000 of Citizens, who have arms in their hands, will not permit them to go back to their former government.

Leopold, who by consent of the Empress, concluded a truce with the Turks, has managed his policy with such dexterity as to have been unanimously elected Emperor, on the fourth of this month. He has gained some decided advantages over the Patriots of the Austrian Netherlands. But in the meantime a spirit of revolt, or at least of innovation, seems to have been insinuating itself into his hereditary Dominions. The part he will take in the general combinations is uncertain.

The King of Prussia has indeed a formidable army on foot, but he can yield no support to his English Allies, where they will, in case of war, have most occasion for it.

He is said to be more addicted to women and pleasure than formerly. Consequently his reputation, even as a military man is not so high as it was.

Poland appears to be still torn in pieces by intestine factions, that which is now predominant, has thwarted the system of the King in several respects.

Thus are the affairs of nearly all Europe embroiled in an almost inexplicable manner. Nor has it perhaps ever been more difficult to form a true estimate of them.

I shall endeavour to apply my undivided attention to the subject; and will hasten my departure for the continent as much as possible. Previous to which, I will, without failure, write to you again. The Vessel which carries this Letter is to

sail for New York to-morrow. The British Packet which left New York in the beginning of September, arrived four or five days before we did. I came into London entirely unobserved. Nor is there a person in the Hotel where I lodge, who knows even my name; or what part of the world I came from.

With sentiments of the highest consideration and esteem, I have the honour to be, Sir, &c.,

D. HUMPHREYS.

The address of the Chr. de Pinto, in Portuguese is:

Llo Ill. ^{mo} e Ex. ^{mo} Sn.^r

Luiz Pinto de Sousa Continho Ministro a Secretario de Estado de S. M. F. clos Negocios Estrangeiros e da Guerra.

&c. &c. &c.^r

On the same day he addressed a letter to Mr. Short:

LONDON, Octr. 14, 1790.

DEAR SIR;

I arrived here this morn^g after a passage of 37 days from New York. The recess of Congress had taken place a short time before I left America, the President had gone to Mount Vernon and Mr. Jefferson for his own seat. Tranquility was universally prevalent, and the government appears equally firmly established throughout all the thirteen States.

Even the temporary agitation which had been excited in the public mind on the two great questions of the residence of Congress and the assumption of the State Debts, was subsiding very fast. The President made a tour to Rhode Island the week before he went home, and in the principal Towns had the satisfaction of witnessing the perfect federalism and good disposition of the People. It is highly probable that on the Meeting of the Commissioners of New York and Vermont which was to happen about this time a fourteenth link will be added to the chain of the Union, by the admission of the latter. A Treaty of Peace had been concluded with the Creek Nation of Indians; so that no hostilities will be expected on the

^r U. S. Archives, State Dept., Washington, D. C.

frontiers except from a despicable banditti, who may easily be reduced to reason or non-existence by a small force. Population and agriculture increase wonderfully. Under the circumstances, we cannot but felicitate our country on the prospect before it. And the more so as it is to be expected we may avoid being involved in the vortex of the politics of the European nations, which seems ready to sweep them into general hostility. Though so young a nation we should have discretion enough to profit by their folly. In furnishing the belligerent nations with our produce, we shall become so much beforehand as to be able speedily to extricate ourselves from the expense incurred by our own Revolution. To get the public debt into a manageable way, if I may so express myself, seems now to be the great desideratum with our wisest and best political characters. On this subject you will be more particularly informed from some dispatches addressed to you by the Secretary of the Treasury, and which by his direction I am going to put into the hands of Mr. Church in order to be forwarded by a safe conveyance. I shall set out in the first vessel which shall offer for Lisbon, and propose before long to write to you again. I did not think it worth the while to draw upon you on the other side of the Atlantic for the small sum which came into your hands by the sale of the carriage in which we were jointly concerned. The price you obtained was to the full amount of what I expected or desired; and I am infinitely obliged to you for the trouble you have taken in that affair. I now draw for the 493 livres, and will endeavour to seize occasions of evincing (what is the real fact) that silence in me is no proof of the want of the sincerest regard & esteem with the unutterable profession of which for yourself, I have the honour to be,

Dear Sir,

Your most obedient & most Humble Servant,

D. HUMPHREYS.

The HON^{ble} W. SHORT, Esq^r &c., &c., &c.

Note on last page:

"This letter from Col. Humphreys a celebrated revolution-

ary officer & part author of the 'Widow of Malabar' was given to me in 1834 by Mr. Short to whom it was addressed.

"R. GILMOUR."¹

While delayed in London the Colonel made full use of all his sources of information and gathered many incidental references to the prevailing activity in the army. He moved quietly among his friends and acquaintances with open ears but a still tongue. His character as an agent of the United States though doubtless suspected by the British Foreign Office was unknown to the company he kept.

His second letter to Mr. Jefferson largely confirms his previous one and continues his luminous statement on European affairs:

LONDON, October 20th, 1790.

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE,
SIR,

In my first letter, I mentioned such circumstances of a political nature, relating to several of the principal Powers of Europe, as had then come to my knowledge. The facts, according to subsequent informations, were pretty justly stated. Leaving you to deduce such conclusions as your better judgment shall enable you to form I proceed now to give you the sequel of intelligence which has resulted from my enquiries. As it is so difficult on the spot to know what to believe, I will name my authors, in some instances that you may have the fairer opportunity of deciding the degree of credit is due the reports; especially as you are generally acquainted with the Persons themselves.

Nothing has yet happened to enable one to speak conclusively on the issue of the dispute between Spain and England. Still opinions are various, and sometimes appearances contradictory. Two days ago, a Messenger returned from Madrid, without bringing anything satisfactory. Yesterday Stocks

¹ Dreer Collection, Pennsylvania Historical Society, Philadelphia, Pa.

rose two per cent; and as Sir George Staunton told me, he heard in the City, without any ostensible reason, except that the British messenger brought dispatches to the Marquis del' Campo and therefore the conclusion was adopted, that there must be some pacific understanding between the two nations. But, in fact, the Stocks are collected in such an artificial manner and there is such gambling in them, that they remain no longer any criterion for forming a judgment whether there will be war or peace. A Company in which Mr. Church is deeply concerned have according to report, speculated to an immense amount; insomuch that it is said he will gain or lose £50,000 by the event. He was with me a few days ago and seemed rather to believe there will be a war. That however, cannot be ascertained even by persons the most interested to be informed, before the return of the messenger who went to Madrid on the 3d day of this month, and is expected back about the last of it.

Nor is it probable that the men who are at the head of this government can form a judgment on good ground.

They only know their own intentions; which are also to be apprehended by the measure they pursue. These have the most warlike appearance, and must now of necessity be continued. Under an idea that Spain would act on the present occasion in the same manner it did in the Falkland Island affair, the Ministry of this country seem to be hurried into embarrassments, which they had not fully foreseen and from which they find it difficult to extricate themselves.

The small importance of the object makes it believed by some that this was originally, but a pretext for arming in order to avail themselves of the confusions in the North. If anything of this kind was in contemplation, their views have been frustrated by an alteration of the State of affairs in that quarter. While Britain was disgusting—Spain was conciliating; and the apparent candour of the latter in offering to leave the determination of the right (upon the validity of existing Treaties) to any crowned Head in Europe, has had a tendency to interest other Powers in its favour.

At present, inconvenient, even pernicious as a war must be

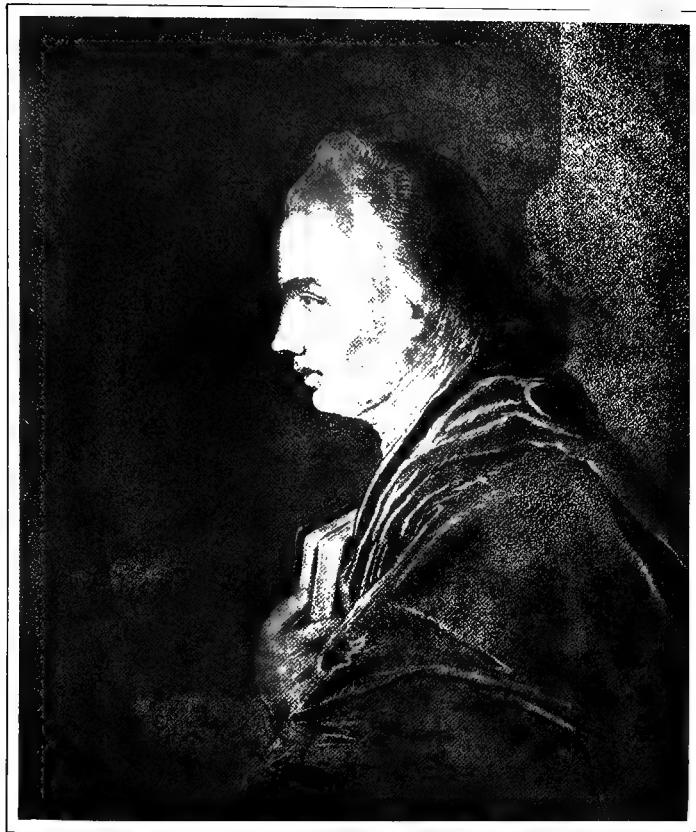
to this nation; and desirous of Peace as the Minister may in reality be, he has no choice—he must after the declarations & preparations which have been made, proceed to hostilities, unless such concessions can be obtained as will satisfy the public expectation. For that purpose it is reported he has by the last messenger, demanded three things to be explicitly allowed—the free navigation of all Seas—the right of fishing in the Pacific Ocean—and of making establishments on any lands heretofore unoccupied. Altogether this was related to me by a person, likely to be better informed than most, as a truth he had through such an authentic channel as might be confided in, almost as much as if it was of an official kind; yet, I must avow, I believe this pretended ultimatum to be merely the offspring of conjecture—since it is acknowledged by all Treaties, that the business of the Cabinet, has, at least, been conducted with great secrecy, during the course of the whole affair. Stockdale, the political Bookseller, however informed me to-day, that he had just been assured by a person very high in Office, that no war would happen. The following facts are more obvious and speak a different language; the premium of insurance is at the war price; the preparations for war go on more vigorously than ever; on Sunday last the Press gangs took watermen & ferrymen, who had until then been exempted from impress; the three battalions of Guards detached for foreign service, are getting in readiness to march on Monday next for Portsmouth to which place their route, in three Columns, is designated; Transports are prepared for them to go on board; *Letters of Service* are just issued for raising 100 Companies of Infantry, of 100 men each: a friend of mine, an Officer in the British service, who called upon me yesterday, told me he had received his recruiting orders, and was in treaty with a person to give ten Guineas for every Soldier he would enlist for him.—It is added, that the Colonels of Militia are ordered to be in readiness to assemble their Reg^{ts} at a short notice, if it shall become necessary, and that the Middlesex Militia have offered to do duty in place of the Guards. Doubtless every arrangement will be made for striking a strong blow in the onset, if the war shall take place Parliament will pretty

certainly meet in November. During these transactions the ratification of the family compact by the National assembly of France, and the more recent order to have 15 ships fitted for Sea in addition to the 30 which are in preparation, sufficiently show their intention, should matters proceed to extremity—While the Powers of Europe are in such a political ferment, America is daily growing of more importance in their view. A report had prevailed in this place that Spain has lately made some declaration, with respect to conceding to the United States the free navigation of the Mississippi. I took considerable pains to trace it, and yesterday was told Col. Miranda had seen it in a letter to the Spanish Ambassador himself. My informant received the intelligence from Miranda. I learn from the Marq de la Luzerne (to whom I brought a letter from the President) that the Compte de Moustier is appointed Minister to Berlin. Upon asking him who he thought would be appointed to replace that Minister in America, he seemed disposed to think of several persons who were Candidates, Col. Ternant was the one most likely to succeed.

Mr. Paradise gave me in conversation, to understand that he had seen the letter from the Secretary of foreign affairs in Portugal to the Chevalier Freire, announcing (unofficially) his nomination as *Minister Resident* in the United States, and mentioning that the present *Portuguese Minister* at Rome, was immediately to repair in that character to London. As a confirmation of this expectation, the Chev^t Freire (with whom I fell in company at dinner with the Marq de la Luzerne) enquired of me whether Mr. Jefferson had not heard of his appointment, before I left America?

The administration here, it is also believed, have a serious intention to send a Minister forthwith to the United States.

A Mr. Petre (a Gentleman who holds a newly created office in the Customs of this Port) said in my hearing, that the Duke of Leeds spoke to him on the subject within a fortnight past, in such a positive manner as to make him suppose, it had been determined in Council.—I know not whether there be any foundation for a rumour circulated here, that Sir John



G. Romney pins 1771

Re-engr^d in fac simile by J I Pease 1876

Currier & Ives litho.

George Washington Arm.
Socet Antiq et Asiatic
Academ Reg Fle Bonon. & Parma Soc



From the original picture, in the collection of his Grace the Duke of Dorset at Kneller.

Temple has written for, and obtained permission, to return to this country on a visit.

I am perfectly ready to set out for the Continent. Unfortunately for me the Packet for Lisbon sailed from Falmouth, about the time of my arrival in London, and will not sail again in less than a fortnight.—There is no vessel here in immediate readiness to sail for that Port, or I should prefer going in that manner, notwithstanding the disagreeable navigation of the channel.—By taking the passage in the Packet one can hardly avoid getting into the Newspapers, as I find they make it a practice to publish the names of all the passengers. This is an inconvenience I wish very much to obviate. Although it was impossible to avoid being known by many persons I have met with; yet hitherto I have escaped public notice, and am considered merely in the light of a private traveller.

I have the honour to be, with perfect esteem & respect

Your Most humble & most obedient Servant

D. HUMPHREYS.¹

In his character as a private traveller, Col. Humphreys could explore London thoroughly without attracting observation. Upon his former visit he had made the acquaintance of many persons of prominence in literature and art whose attentions were renewed to him at this time.

Among his new acquaintances was the Court painter, Ozias Humphrey, who after a successful career in Calcutta had returned to London, where he shared the honours with Sir Joshua Reynolds. The similarity of tastes led to a somewhat intimate friendship. It is natural that both these gentlemen of courtly manners, literary facility and appreciation of art should be attracted to each other, and they evidently talked over the kinship between them. The Colonel preserved very carefully a blazon of six Humphreys coats of arms which he received from Ozias Humphrey with an attested description of each by the

¹ U. S. Archives, State Dept., Washington, D. C.

London Heralds' College, signed "Shields" and further attested by the signature of "Ozias Humphrey, R.A." A copy of the engraving by "Caroline Watson, 1784," of the painting made in 1772 by George Romney of himself, was with his book-plate, also presented to him by Ozias Humphrey.¹

The probable inference is that such things would not have been given to a stranger and that they are a proof of relationship between the ancestors of the painter and the diplomatist.²

When we remember how jealously well-bred Englishmen cling to ancestral honours, and how quickly they resent any intrusion upon their family and blood, and when we take into consideration that this event occurred immediately after a war in which one of the parties had taken a most conspicuous part, and the sentiments of the English must have been more or less unfriendly to say the least, we realize how impossible such a transaction would have been had it not been founded on justice and truth.³

The writer possesses the fob and seal of the Rev. Daniel Humphreys, father of David, and on it is the crest and initial which he used during his life. The crest is an eagle with wings elevated, holding in his claw a broken spear.

¹ *The Humphreys Family*, pp. 93, 94. It is said that these documents were among the most important papers of the General, and found by his nephew William, after his death, in whose family they were preserved.

² Boswell in his life of Samuel Johnson, says of Ozias Humphrey: "The eminent painter, representative of the ancient family of Homfrey (now Humphrey) in the west of England; who appear from their arms which they have invariably used &c. . . . This family once enjoyed large possessions, but like others have lost them in the progress of ages. Their blood however remains well ascertained." Vol. iv., p. 134.

³ While this volume was on the press, the author very unexpectedly received from Mr. John Humphreys Johnstone, now residing in Venice, Italy, a good deal of genealogical matter bearing on the Humphreys Family which throws considerable light on the common ancestry of David Humphreys and Ozias Humphrey, for which the reader is referred to the Appendix.

It is up to the government to do it properly.

... doal oil produced very much per gallon
per barrel than last year. Turned barrel now, add
that, it does not cost me to move it so far, so
will all probably go to ... The job is now to
find a good market to perform
which, I am planning, I will find some place
where there is a lot of oil produced about there
now, and in order to get a good
market for my product, I will go to where
there is a lot of oil produced — and sell
there. — And here is what I plan to do
— To begin with we are going to perform
an experiment, and see if we can't
find a place where we can sell our oil
there, and then we will start up
there and build up a market for our oil
there.

HIS MARSHALING OF ARMS, MADE TO GENERAL DAVID HUMPHREYS
BY OZIAS HUMPHREYS. A BRITISH ARTIST OF ENGLAND, ABOUT THE
AND PRESERVED AMONG HIS PAPERS NOW IN THE POSSESSION OF FR
DON HUMPHREYS.

London Herald's' and further
 "Humfridus" H. H. St. R.A."

"Doomsday Book, Inquisitio Gheldi. &c. &c. No. 784," of
 the par

Humphrey, now spelt "Humphry. Six coats by Ozias
 was

1st Sable, four Pallets Ormee. Edmondsons Heraldry.

2nd Or. on a chevron, between three Fleur-de-lis, Table
 as many Bezants. a larger and that they are up of
 3rd Humphrey of Barton Segrave, Northamptonshire,
 and of Leicester. And that the Humphrey, D.

Gules, a cross Bottony Argent charged with four
 bezants, and how quickly they resent
 charged with twelve Escallop Shells Sable.

4th Humphrey, of Truro in Cornwall. And that the
 one of the parties had taken a

Gules, a cross Bottony Argent charged with four
 bezants, and the sentiments of the English

5th Escallop Shells, Sable. D. it would have

it not been found in justice and truth.

6th Humphrey of Rattendon in Essex and of
 Gloucester, and Northampton. The crest is an eagle

Gules, on a cross Bottony Argent, four pallets. d.

The writer possesses the original seal of the Rev. Daniel

Humphrey, father of the author, which in the year

1605, he left England, and went into France.

All these six coats are very ancient, and

appear to have been brought into the Heralds

Office upon its first establishment.

Ozias Humphrey: "The

eminent family representative of the ancient family of Homfrey (now

Humphrey) of the West of England, appear from their arms which they

have retained to this day, that the family once enjoyed large possessions,

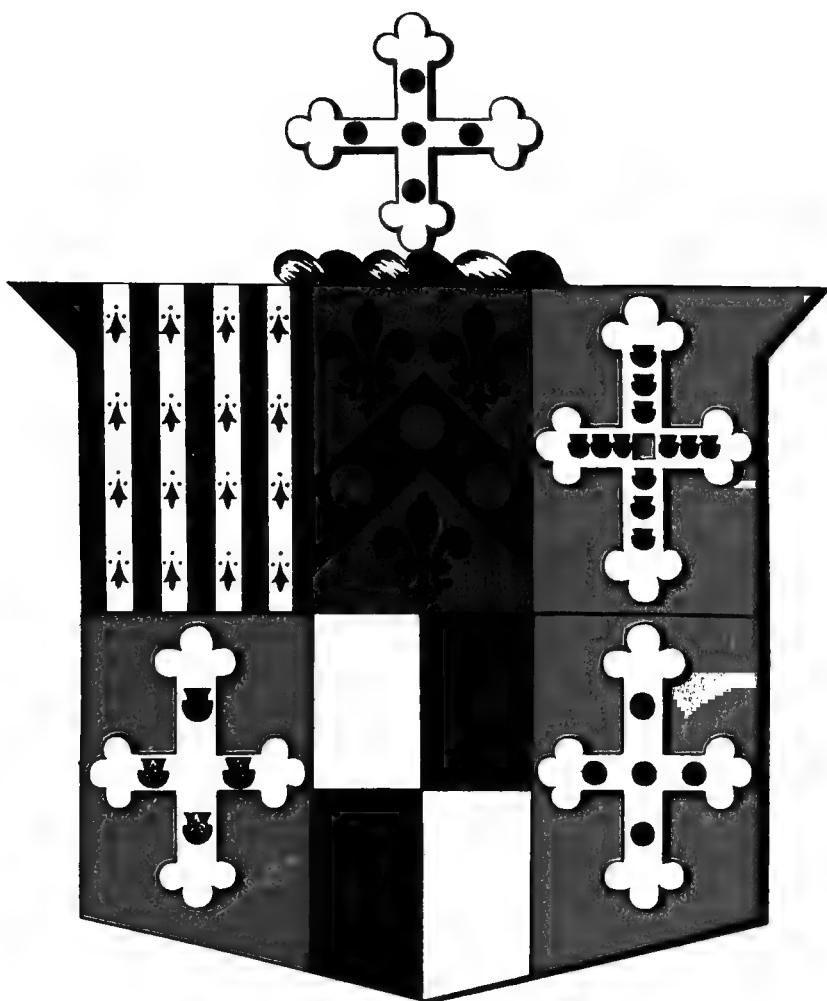
but like other great families of the nation, through the progress of ages. Their blood however

remained well mixed with that of the nobility." See p. 44.

While this volume was

R. A.

author very unexpectedly received from Mr. John Humphreys Johnstone, now residing in Venice, Italy, a good deal of genealogical matter bearing on the Humphreys Family which throws considerable light on the common ancestry of David Humphreys and Ozias Humphrey, for which the reader is referred to the Appendix.



THIS MARSHALING OF ARMS WAS PRESENTED TO GENERAL DAVID HUMPHR
., BY OZIAS HUMPHREYS, R.A., COURT ARTIST OF ENGLAND, ABOUT THE 1
AND PRESERVED AMONG HIS PAPERS. NOW IN THE POSSESSION OF FR
DON HUMPHREYS.

bach, and his establishment on the imperial Throne, has given notice that if Russia shall engage in hostility against Prussia, he is still obliged to assist the latter. A rupture between the Emperor and the King of Prussia is now much talked of. The affairs of the Patriots in the Austrian Netherlands seem to be declining very fast, while the Emperor is marching a strong body of troops against them; the troubles in Hungary having been in the interim somewhat appeased.

The king of Sweden is said to be extremely displeased with Great Britain for not having afforded him effectual aid. His navy consists, after the diminution of it by the late war, of only 28 Ships of the line. Some subjects of animosity exist between his Kingdom and that of Denmark. The Prince of Denmark is believed to be desirous of signalizing himself for military talents, after the example of the Great King of Prussia. His genius, I suspect, is of a very different order. He delights, like a young man, in the pomps of war. He practises his manual exercise before a glass every day insomuch that a gentleman who has seen the room in which he practises, mentioned to me that he had worn a place with the but of his firelock on the floor; he also manoeuvres paper men, in order to become expert in Tactics. These *little* traits of character require no comment. That nation is, however, pretty powerful at sea, having 50 sail of Ships of war, and a body of 20,000 enrolled Seamen, who can be made use of, on an emergency. All accounts still concur in reporting that the Spaniards are arming with the utmost assiduity.

It is also currently reported here that a war has broke out between them and the Moors; they have taken a Moorish Galley and chased another on shore.

A war certainly has commenced between Tippoo Saib and the English in India. A gentleman of my acquaintance, a long time a Prisoner of Tippoo, lately returned from India, related to me several facts concerning the war; and that Lord Cornwallis would remain in his government, on this account, contrary to his former intentions.

So far are the ministers of this country from suffering any relaxation in their military preparations, that they have since

my last letter, issued orders for raising 50 more Companies of 100 men each, making with the former 15,000. The battalions of the Guards, for foreign service, were yesterday reviewed and completed from other battalions. Their march is postponed until Wednesday. One sees, in going through the City, at the shops of Mechanics a great number of new travelling Trunks & haversacks with the names of the Officers of the Guards painted on them; a fact, however, trivial, which corroborates the belief in reports of their destination for service unusual to them.

Everything in the Ordinance & naval departments has the face of preparation and hurry. No vessel carries from any Port that is not entirely stript of its Crew by the Press gangs. The 44 Gun ships, which are intended for transports, are getting in readiness with more expedition than the rest of the fleet. A convoy is appointed to sail with the West India trade on the 25th of next month. The maritime show has become so great at Portsmouth as to attract vast multitudes to see it.

Stocks have fallen since the 20th to their ordinary level. In the absence of Mr. G. Morris, I have not thought it prudent to converse with any man on the dispositions of the administration of this country, with respect to America.

On the slightest observation, I found that neither a treaty of commerce, or the delivery of the frontier posts was ever mentioned. The reasons which formerly operated with them on these subjects, probably still prevail.

But in truth, every other object has been totally disregarded amidst the agitations in men's minds by the dispute between Spain and this Country.

Mr. Johnson's commission as Consul of the Port of London is just recognized. I foresee he will have an amazing share of business and trouble in attempting to protect the American Seamen at this time. As Mr. Cutting, in his letters to you, has dwelt so fully and so pertinently on the difficulties which have attended the negotiation of this business hitherto, and has given you such authentic documents to prove the unjust and irritating conduct practised in particular instances; I will only add that I think his exertions in favour of his distressed countrymen, entitle him to much credit from the Public as well as

to the sincerest thanks from the Individuals, who have been rescued from an abominable slavery by his means.

I fear, that in such a Port as London, so arduous a task will be imposed on the Consul, as must after a short time compel him to relinquish the Office, unless he can, in some way, or another, be compensated for his expenses and trouble. The duties of the Consul at this Port will be widely different or at least vastly more troublesome than those of a Consul in any other; and I do not imagine the appointment will occasion any considerable increase of commercial business—because every person who trades here has already his Correspondent or Agent, which is not the case in Ports where a new commerce shall be undertaken. I make these observations entirely without the knowledge of Mr. Johnson, and solely from the view in which the subject presents itself to my mind.

It is true I have great personal obligations to him for his extreme attentions and politeness to me. By his assistance I have found, in the Thames a Brig bound for Lisbon, which is to sail the last of this week, and in which I have engaged my passage.

With the highest sentiments of respect & esteem

I have the honour to be Sir, &c.

D. HUMPHREYS.¹

¹ U. S. Archives, State Dept., Washington, D. C.

CHAPTER III

Humphreys on European Affairs

Humphreys Utilizes Delay in Sailing for Lisbon in Sending Further Accounts of Political Situation to America—In Letter to Secretary of State October 28, 1790, Announces Recovery of George III.—Strong Financial Condition of England—She Makes Active War Preparations—Extensive Building in London—Sailing of Lord Howe—Review of Guards by the King—Popularity of Pitt—John Barker Church—State of Affairs in France—Appointment of d'Estaing in Command of French Fleet—Confidential Letter of Humphreys to Washington—Discusses Possibilities of War between Gt. Britain and Spain—Contradictory Tenor of Letters from Mr. and Mrs. Adams on State of American Affairs—Alludes to Hamilton's Dissatisfaction with Conduct of Affairs by Gouverneur Morris—Description of Paine's Bridge in London—Writes again to Jefferson, Gives his Views as to Possible Development of American Commerce with England and Europe—Advised Shipment of Pot Ashes—Strongly Urges Opening Trade with France in Salted Provisions—Predicts America Would Control French Market Once she Entered it Successfully—Advise Exportation of Cattle—Announces Arrival of Cherokee Chiefs in London—Predicts Civil or Foreign War for France—Embarks at Gravesend for Gibraltar.

COLONEL HUMPHREYS took passage in the Brig referred to in his last communication to the Secretary of State, and up to the last moment of its sailing he continued to gather news from all sources. It was a period when all the European Powers were closely watching each other, and when every day brought with it its fresh crop of rumours and consequent excitement.

Between October 28th and November 4th, the date of

sailing, Humphreys dispatched no less than five letters to America. The first was to the Secretary of State, and was an exhaustive account of the political situation in Europe at that date.

No. 4.

LONDON, October 28th, 1790.

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

SIR,

While I am detained for the sailing of the vessel in which I am to go to Lisbon, I cannot do better, in My Judgment, than to give you such further facts, occurrences or reports of the day, as may be in any degree interesting in America, when compared with other accounts; though those I may have the honor to give should not be of much importance in themselves.—In my communications, I have generally distinguished things which were derived from such authority as brought conviction of their veracity to my mind; circumstances, in support of which I named the immediate or remote authors; and rumours of a more vague or doubtful nature. Here from my knowledge of the language and access to sources of intelligence, the materials, which (as it were) thrust themselves upon me from every quarter, are infinitely more abundant, than I can expect to find them in any part of the Continent. This must be my apology for having written to you so frequently in so short a time. Parliament will meet on the 25th of next month. It is composed, according to good calculations, of a rather greater number of adherents to administration than the last; although in the last, the majority was so decided as to enable Ministry to carry all their measures, even in the most critical junctures when they were apparently on the point of losing their places, as must have been the case in the Regency business, had not the sudden recovery of the King prevented it. That crisis operated as an excellent touchstone to try the attachment of their *Supporters*. Still *Opposition* are preparing to commence the war of words against them, for their conduct in the Nootka-sound dispute.

Their demand of satisfaction previous to the settlement of the point of right; their declamation; Counter declamation; procrastination before the ultimatum was brought in question, intermediate opportunity afforded to Spain for courting alliances; and consequent leisure for Powers, hostilely inclined, to arm; will become subjects of animadversion. A million was voted by the last Parliament to enable Government to make preparations to vindicate the honor of the nation. But, notwithstanding the enormous national debt and the heavy burdens, which the people at large are compelled to bear; yet the resource of credit and the influx of money, have crowded all the Public and private Banks with specie and embarrassed the great money holders to determine how to dispose of it. This may be accounted for from several causes. The Merchants of the United States, and the West India Islands have made large remittances, on account of the arrearages of their old debts.

Less Capital can be employed in trade to the European Continent, by reason of troubles there, than formerly. It is visible to every eye, that prodigious sums have been recently laid out in buildings and improvements. I believe nearly as many houses have been built in this City within a year past as the City of Philadelphia contains. This is the effect of a vast current which has run in favor of this country and stagnated here. But reasonable and well informed men perceive that this incidental surplusage of gold, and silver would go but a little way in supporting the expense of a war, at a distance. They say, that, flowing from the country in a direct stream, it would all be drained in two or three years; and that a war of that duration would be, beyond conception, ruinous to the Nation. Other classes, such as Merchants and decent Citizens, who are zealous advocates (without much general knowledge) for the glory of Great Britain, warm themselves to a great degree of enthusiasm, by conversing on the subjects of its resources and prowess; especially in their blustering anticipations of capturing the Dons and the Dollars. Some of these appear to me to talk in this style, rather because it is fashionable to talk in it than because they credit their own observa-

tions; and then endeavour to persuade others what they do not believe themselves. It is thus that the bubble is not only kept up but blown to still greater dimensions. Men here seem to have an interest as well as propensity to deceive one another. On the system and operation of the national credit I could not say anything that would be new to you. It would be superfluous to observe, how it has arisen to its present wonderful height, partly by chance and partly by the sacred appropriation of funds to pay the interest of the debt;—or how public and private Bank notes have increased almost beyond the limits of credibility, how much the multiplied representation of property has facilitated the intercourse of business—or what serious disadvantages are to be expected hereafter from this immense paper circulation. It is evident there is a point (though often mistaken and hitherto unascertained) beyond which ability or credulity cannot go. Of little avail would all the artificial means be, in keeping up the Stocks if a superior hostile fleet should have the possession of the channel, so that bodies of Troops might be landed, with impunity, in this Kingdom.

Events of this kind, by no means impossible would shake the almost-baseless fabric of credit to its very Centre.

Nothing new has occurred in this Kingdom, since my letter of the 25th except the sailing of Admiral Cornish the day before yesterday from Portsmouth, with four 74, two 64 Gun Ships, and a Frigate. The business of Government is conducted with so much secrecy, that it is not known, whether he has gone on an expedition, or is to wait in the channel to take transports or merchantmen under convoy. When Lord Howe went out of Port some time ago, it was merely to try the Crews of the different Ships. Many of which now lye at a single anchor, completely ready for service. The precipitancy and extravagance of some of the monied men who have undertaken to raise independent Companies, have increased the expenses of raising Recruits to fifteen Guineas pr man. This circumstance, and the orders issued from the War Office, a day or two since, making the Capt^e responsible for the supplying the place of such Recruits as may desert even after their

arrival at Rendezvous, but before the Companies shall be finally mustered, have occasioned thirty Captains to return their *Beating Orders*.

The King of Great Britain, whose health appears to be confirmed, has this day reviewed the Brigade of Guards, consisting of the 1st Battⁿ of each of the three Regiments, destined for foreign service. I was in a position to see them from good advantage. The crowd of spectators was numerous beyond what I ever witnessed before in my life. The King was received with the greatest marks of loyalty, as one might truly say, with tokens of respect approaching to Idolatry. When Mr. Pitt appeared a few of the populace cried out, "no Pitt"—"no Pitt" "Fox forever." But a more vociferous acclamation arising in his favor soon overcame the first cry: and he was attended out of the Park by a great number huzzaing "Pitt forever."

The troops are composed of fine men, and are well appointed.

Their destination still a secret. In case of war it will most likely be the Post of enterprise and glory; though Gibraltar has been much spoken of.

Those who have concluded that they were to replace a part of the garrison of Gibraltar (intended for the West Indies) are probably erroneous in their conjectures; because the rank of the Officers of the Guards being higher in the line of the army than in their own Corps, would occasion both uneasiness and inconvenience if they should be brought to do garrison duty with the marching Regiments. Besides it is not probable Government would shut up in that honorable Prison (for such a narrow dreary rock must be) so many Officers of the first families in the Kingdom, and troops which are supposed to possess a more than common share of ardor for active service. It is curious to remark the pride the people take in their *King and in his* troops. As the inhabitants of great Cities are commonly acquainted with nothing beyond the small space they have seen and are the more ignorant in proportion to the greatness of those Cities. I have no doubt that the greater part of the Spectators, believed these troops in conjunction with those of

their Prussian Ally, capable of carrying conquest wheresoever they shall go.

Indeed, it is not uncommon to hear men of respectability talk of this Nation and Prussia, as having dictated the Convention of Reichenbach, and being at this moment the Arbiters of Europe.

On my way from the Park I saw Mr. Church, who is much connected with great men in the *Opposition*, and a member of Parliament himself.¹ He still thinks there will be a war, and that the event cannot be kept in suspense after the return of the messenger who went to Madrid on the 3d of this month. Others hold a contrary language. Mr. Grenville, who has been absent for a fortnight (at what place the Public knows not) is just returned to Town. It is asserted in the Newspapers, he has been at Paris.

This is among the rumours, which, from the active character of the man, are probable enough; yet not to be relied upon. The absurdity and falsehood of many articles inserted in the papers here should teach us to doubt the truth of everything we find in them. Two remarkable instances have happened since my arrival. The one an account universally credited for some days—that the Parliament of Toulouse had been massacred to a man—the other that two Spanish vessels, which had been at Philadelphia, and engaged hands to man them, at an extravagant rate were seen boarding an English Ship in the Delaware, that this account was brought by a vessel lately arrived in Dublin, and confirmed by a gentleman in Town who left America in July (the time when the affair was said to have happened). This appeared in the ministerial Gazette, and is uncontradicted—

¹ The story of this gentleman has a touch of romance. He came to America early in the Revolution, was accounting officer to America early for the United States forces in 1777. He was in Boston during 1778–1779. He married Angelica, the eldest daughter of Gen. Schuyler, and settled in Newport, R. I., as a partner of Col. Jeremiah Wadsworth, an extensive merchant of Hartford and sometime Quartermaster-General of the American Army. He was known then as Col. John Carter. After a visit to Europe in 1781, he was reconciled to his father and family and resumed his own name of John Barker Church. After the war he returned to England.

Warm debates have taken place on the 20th of this month in the national Assembly at Paris on the question of requesting the King to remove his Ministers.

An exception was finally made in favor of the Comte de Montmorin. Thus amended it was lost by a majority of about sixty. The reason assigned for bringing forward this business, was the dilatoriness of Administration in complying with the order for fitting out a naval armament. That reason shows the national Assembly are in earnest in taking measures to support Spain. Great want of subordination exists among the Officers and Crews of the fleet at Brest. Some resolutions have been passed for appointing Commissioners to assist in quieting the disturbances there; for changing the white flag for the national colours; and for giving for the watchword, instead of "Vive le Roi" "Viva la nation, la loi, et le Roi."

The Comte D'Estaing is appointed to command the naval armaments. The appointment is reported to be popular. There is a prospect that order will be re-established. Official advice is said to be received here, that the French are, likewise diligently employed in fitting for Sea several Ships of war at Toulon.

Many terrible consequences have been foretold here as the inevitable result of a total failure of credit in France. Ruin has been predicted. A counter revolution is still threatened, and the detail of its intended operations disclosed. The Politicians on this side of the channel forget, in their speculations, how many men are actually armed and zealously attached to the success of the Revolution, because they are gainers by it; and how much more property there is in that nation.—

Since the *Assignats* were put in circulation there the exchange has become rather more favorable to France, than it was before. The best informed Englishmen appear to believe although this paper money may be pernicious in its consequence to individuals, and although it may operate as an unhandy machine in drawing forth the resources of the country; yet, that, considering the foundation on which it is placed, it must become a tolerably good substitute for specie, and enable the Kingdom to make great exertions of its strength.

The Crops are said to have been very good in France this year.

A *report* prevails that the French Ministry, in consequence of the proceedings of the National assembly, have, since the 20th resigned.—I forbear to add others as I know you will receive authentic and perhaps earlier information from Mr. Short.

I never was more impatient to leave any place than I am to depart from this. The reasons for my reaching my ultimate destination grow every day more numerous and pressing. Hitherto I have not heard that any farther notice has been taken of me than the frequent mention of my name at the New York Coffee house, with speculations on the cause of my coming here, at this time. I have as much as possible shunned all public places, and Coffee houses, and shall consider myself particularly fortunate in departing without farther observations on my business. In the meantime, with every sentiment of consideration I tender the homage of the profound respect, with which I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your most obedient and very humble Servant
D. HUMPHREYS.

P.S. Oct. 29th.

Since concluding this letter, the report of the resignation of the French Ministers gains credit.¹

The mention of the Colonel's name by those frequenting the coffee houses led to the printing in several continental Journals of a story about his presence in London, which with several items of political and personal interest he communicated to General Washington:

(*Secret*)

LONDON Octr 31st 1790.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

Since my arrival here, on the 14th inst I have written four letters to Mr. Jefferson, by different conveyances, in which I have given him a detail of such political facts, & reports, as I

¹ U. S. Archives, State Dept., Washington, D. C.

suppose might be, in any degree, interesting in America. As these communications will be submitted to your inspection I forbear troubling you with any circumstances contained in them. But finding so good an opportunity, as that presented by Mr. Swift, directly to Mount Vernon, I take the liberty (according to the permission you were pleased to offer) of adding a few things some of a more confidential, & others, of a less public nature.

The question of war or peace remains as much undecided at this moment as it was in May last, when the King sent his message on the Nootka-Sound business to the two Houses of Parliament. By the messenger who is expected to return from Spain this week it will probably be determined. If Spain should not comply with the propositions made by the British Court, their Minister will be recalled and hostilities commence on the part of this Nation. The prospect of this event has given a great advantage to our Merchants, in loading vessels that were American bottoms. Everything here carries an aspect favorable to the credit & reputation of our Country. But there are accounts & descriptions of the state of public affairs transmitted from that Country to this, which I little expected to find and which in my opinion, may have a pernicious effect in fixing on the minds of men an erroneous idea of our real situation. I should not have been surprised to learn that the colour of the pictures of American affairs given by the Compte de Moustiers was dark and gloomy. But I was much so, on hearing that Mr. Adams had, not long since given such a view of American affairs in a letter to Dr. Brice. I have not seen Dr. Brice myself but I have heard two different Gentlemen mention, that the Doctor informed them he received a letter from that Gentleman conceived in a desponding style, and representing that our government & affairs were proceeding in the most ruinous trains imaginable. But, I have seen a letter written by Mrs. Adams since I left America of a directly contrary tenor; a letter which exhibited our government & affairs in the most flourishing state that can be conceived. Which of the family will prove the better Politicians time will in a short time decide; though I own myself at a loss to antici-

pate in favor of the latter. The Count Andriane has written things monstrously absurd & ill founded; much in respect to their import as follows—that the United States are divided into two factions, Mr. Jefferson and the northern States in favour of France, the southern States and New York in favour of Britain—that Congress had done nothing but quarrel about the seat of Government, and that this circumstance was what probably gave you the air of anxiety which he had remarked—that there was no man in Congress but Mr. Madison who argued in a gentlemanlike & solid manner—nor, in short, any man out of it in America, but Col. Hamilton, who possessed abilities; with a great deal of stuff about American parade & luxury not worth repeating. These idle tales, however, are propagated in such a manner as to be in danger of making unfavorable & false impressions. Col^o Miranda (an active, shrewd, studious, noisy man) is one of his Correspondents. This extraordinary Character (for I really believe he is one of the most knowing men, in many respects of the age) while he visits & is visited by the Spanish Ambassador here, is (by a description which cannot be mistaken) represented in the Newspapers as having had an audience of Mr. Pitt last week and laid before him correct, ample Maps Descriptions & statements of facts respecting the whole Spanish Empire in America; with a view, in case of war, that the British Minister may avail himself of the Informations.

The night after you left New York Col. Hamilton in a very confidential conversation, expressed himself (though still he mentioned his high opinion of the talents & honor of the gentleman in question) not perfectly satisfied with the manner in which Mr. G— M— had conducted the business entrusted to him with the Duke of Leeds, and he desired me, upon investigating the temper of the British Administration with regard to the points in agitation between the United States & Great Britain to write you, or him, the result of my Informations. This, in the absence of Mr. M— & in the private character it is necessary for me to preserve I have found in a manner impossible, without exposing myself to be considered as a person at least some way or another, employed in political affairs.

Under the impression of such sentiments, I have not even once mentioned the subject to the Marq. de la Luzerne. On the contrary, I have judged it expedient to use all the discretion in my power, equally avoiding all appearances of curious enquiry or mysterious reserve, in order to pass for a mere common traveller. Yet somebody has written to Paris, describing a person, once a Colonel, in the American Army, as now employed here in intrigues relative to the Spanish War. This must be absolutely the effect of conjecture, without any ostensible grounds; for I have never opened my lips to any Creature in existence on any matter that led to it since my arrival. I have hitherto escaped all observation in the News Papers here. With this object in sight, I have carefully avoided seeing the Spanish Ambassador, and when I was asked by the Marquis de la Luzerne, if I had come to Europe on public business I answered, as I might with veracity, in the negative.

My mortification is extreme in being detained at this time by contrary winds, as the vessel, in which I have engaged my passage, ought to have got down to Gravesend yesterday.— My stay here has afforded me an opportunity of seeing Mr. Paine's Iron Bridge. It is an Arch of 115 feet on the upper side & the most beautifully light appearance I ever beheld. In expecting some Iron Wedges for the Abutments, the supporters are not yet taken from under the Bridge. But the truth of the principles & the extent of the utility of the Invention are demonstrated.¹

¹ "Mr. Paine's Iron Bridge" which is there mentioned was an invention upon which Thomas Paine, the author of *Common Sense*, a Revolutionary patriot and author spent much time and thought. Instead of supporting a bridge upon numerous stone piers which was universal in Europe but which the pressure of ice in the winter and spring made dangerous, he took an idea from "the strong and beautiful curves by which a spider holds in place a web a hundred times more delicate than fine spun silk." He made himself an iron model of a bridge with a curve which standing upon solid foundation on either bank he thought would bridge the Schuylkill and other broad rivers. When he returned to England in 1787 he carried his model with him. An experimental bridge was at this time erected for him by a firm of iron founders. His invention came slowly into use but without any benefit from it to him. (*Thomas Paine*, by Ellery Sedgwick in *Beacon Biographies*, Boston: Small, Maynard and Company, 1899.)

Mr. Rumsey after struggling through the greatest difficulties & obstacles conceivable, is also, beyond a question on the point of succeeding in his ingenious and profitable projects.¹

I entreat that in pardoning the trouble I shall give by your perusal of his long letter you will be pleased to present my most cordial respects to Mrs. Washington; and consider me in every country & Situation ambitious of proving with how great attachment & sincere affection I have the honor to be,

My dear General,

Your most devoted & Most humble Servant,

D. HUMPHREYS.

The President of the United States.²

It was with great satisfaction that Col. Humphreys learned that the vessel was at length ready to carry him to his destination. On November 2, 1790, he embarked at Gravesend.

In his last letter from London he gathers many items that tend to make clearer the state of England and which would serve as a safe guide for the action of the American government:

¹ James Rumsey, a native of Bohemia Manor, Maryland, became a civil engineer. While superintendent of a mill of the Potomac Campaign at Shepherdstown, Virginia, he became interested in the steam engine of James Watt. He made many experiments to apply steam to navigation, and made a steamboat which was exhibited on the Potomac, September 7, 1784, in the presence of George Washington and others. He was given, by the legislatures of Virginia and Maryland, the exclusive right to navigate the waters of those States for ten years. His boat was propelled by a steam pump taking in water at the bow and pumping it out at the stern. This he navigated on the Potomac. A society known as the Rumsey Society was formed in Philadelphia to aid him in his experiments. He went to England with the expectation of building a boat which would cross the Atlantic in fifteen days. A company of enthusiastic men formed a society similar to that in Philadelphia. He continued his experiments until in 1792 he had a steamboat which he showed successfully on the Thames. He was engaged in the perfecting of this when he died at London, September 23, 1792 in the fiftieth year of his age.

² U. S. Archives, State Dept., Washington, D. C.

No. 5.

LONDON, November 2, 1790.

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE:

The vessel, in which I have engaged my passage, attempted to go down the river at the time appointed; but contrary winds have prevented, so that she cannot before this evening reach Gravesend. For which place I shall proceed immediately by land.

I have the honor to enclose a paper containing a translation of the correspondence between the King of France and his ministers consequent to the proceedings of the national assembly of the 20th of October; and which correspondence gave rise to the reports of their resignation, mentioned in my last. Before I left this for the Continent, I intended to have stated some facts relative to the commerce between the United States and Great Britain, and particularly respecting the fisheries of the latter. But my time has been so short and my opportunities of gaining good information on these heads so few that I dare not hazard the imperfect remarks I had collected; especially as Mr. Johnson, in his double capacity of Consul and Merchant, must be able to give you much clearer statements, and more authentic documents. I will only ask your indulgence for a few detached hints. All articles which one purchases here by retail, I know by experience, are raised 25 pr Cent by the rumours of and preparations for war.

The favorable manner in which the expectation of war and the augmentation of the premium of Insurance effect the American Shipping is very apparent. The value of some commodities of the United States is likewise much enhanced by the troubles in the North of Europe; as for example the demand for and the price of pot and pearl ashes.

In the year past, the Merchants of America had derived unusual emoluments from the rate of exchange between that country and this; and I was glad to find, a much smaller number of Bills (drawn in the midst of the high price of wheat) have gone back protested, than could possibly have been expected.—

The Irish are apprehensive that an embargo will be laid on the exportation of salted provisions; in which case they foretell that the United States will supply those markets where they have been accustomed to vend that staple article—and that the United States having once taken the trade from the land will forever keep possession of it, to the utter ruin of that devoted country. Indeed it appears to me, if our countrymen could once gain the point by contract or otherwise of supplying the French with salted provisions they would not easily, or, by any ordinary competition, lose that advantage.

Such a market well opened would be a great resource of wealth to the Eastern and Middle States. Some of which produce no other article, by any means equal in its extent or value. Even the western settlements might profit by driving their Beef Cattle to Sea Ports for exportation.

In general I have said nothing about the Irish, because their politics, notwithstanding the independent spirit that reigns among individuals, follow exactly those of the English Cabinet.

The Prince de Ferstenbourg has arrived here as Ambassador Extraordinary from the Emperor to announce in form to this Court, the election and coronation of that Sovereign. And as a ludicrous contrast, about the same time six Cherokee Chiefs arrived at the office of the Secretary of State, as Ambassadors from a Nation which (according to the English printed annunciation) had 20,000 men in arms ready to assist G. Britain against Spain.

Nor is this force all; they have 30,000 more capable of being called into immediate service; besides alliances with several other formidable tribes from which astonishing aid is expected. This account, preposterous as it is which has run through all the papers, is very well calculated for this meridian of political ignorance; and you will readily recollect is in the same style with the menaces of Russian auxiliaries, who were to demolish the poor Americans at a blow, in the late war.

These Indians (the same I imagine, who were at Halifax when I left America) have come in lucky time for themselves, to receive presents, and to be courted by great attentions. They were brought on shore at Portsmouth by the Admiral's

Barge, and will be entertained in a very expensive manner. They were attended by one Bowles, who according to the best of my recollection, was sent from New Providence two or three years ago, by Lord Dunmore with arms and horse furniture for a Regiment, and with a few men to aid him in spiriting up the Savages bordering on the frontiers to commit hostilities against the people of the United States. Governor Walton, at Walton, last fall, put into my hands a letter from the Spanish Governor of the Floridas to the Executive of Georgia giving a narrative in detail of the transactions and projects of this same Bowles. I think a Copy of that communication is in the War Office; and that Mr. Baldwin, a representative in Congress from Georgia, can give farther accounts of this adventurer.

Of foreign news we have little that is important; if we expect an uncredited whisper, that a change has taken place in the Spanish Ministry. In France some good friends to the Revolution begin to fear that the peccant humours of the State have arisen to such a height that it will be necessary to let them off by bleeding, either in a civil or foreign war. Much to be deprecated on both sides of the alternatives are, if either be inevitable, the latter is doubtless to be preferred.

Here, the paragraphists, and minor politicians, keep repeating projects of a Counter-Revolution, and accounts of disorders committed there. But were the barriers of order in one Government broken down to make room for the substitution of those of another in this Country, inconceivably greater enormities would be perpetuated. Revolution is a civil game there, to what it would be here.

A class of people here and no inconsiderable one in point of numbers, is ripe for every scene of horrors. There are now upwards of 2000 Convicts ready for transportation to Botany Bay. Yet the number of desperadoes against Society seem not to be diminished, by these means, or by the bad Subjects, who are engaged for the Navy and Army. Several intentional fires have lately happened in this metropolis; and two days ago four men were convicted of having been instrumental in them, for the sake of plunder. Here, man from want, depravity, and

despair wars against humanity. It seems to me in passing the streets, eagerness and distrust are often painted on the countenances of the multitude. This is the nation from whose morals and connections the United States are happily separated. But in forming a general estimate of the degeneracy of character I advert to very different classes and different circumstances from those I have mentioned. It would take up too much time as well as be foreign to my duty to enter into that discussion.

With sentiments of the highest esteem & respect I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your most obedient & Most humble

servt,

D. HUMPHREYS.¹

Before the vessel finally left England, Col. Humphreys sent a letter to Gen. Washington from Gravesend on November 4, and another to the Society. In them he ventures a doubt whether the warlike preparations will lead to an actual outbreak with Spain. The visit of the Cherokee chiefs had both amused and deluded the British public. The pompous accounts were very far from the truth as to the actual condition of the Cherokee nation. There were not over 1000 warriors able to bear arms. Among the Creeks there were in 1773, less than thirteen hundred fighting men, and their strength had not increased since. The passage to Gibraltar from Gravesend, occupied two weeks.

¹ U. S. Archives, State Dept., Washington, D. C.

CHAPTER IV

Humphreys in Portugal

Condition of Portugal at the Close of the Eighteenth Century—Arrival of Humphreys at Lisbon—His Cordial Reception—Introductory Letter from Jefferson—Humphreys' Dispatch to Secretary of State—Narrates his Interview with Prime Minister—Objection Raised by Court of Lisbon at Inferior Rank of American Representative—Humphreys Writes to Washington Confidentially—Advises the American Representative to be Raised to Rank of Minister Resident—Repeats Arguments of Portugal's Prime Minister—Recommends Washington to Write Autograph Letter to Queen of Portugal—Leaves Lisbon for Madrid—State of Spanish Politics—Difficulties of Mr. Carmichael's Position—Jefferson's Letter of Instructions to Carmichael—Humphreys First Dispatches to Jefferson from Madrid—Reviews the Situation—Exonerates Carmichael—Fixes the Blame on the U. S. for Refusing to Accredit a Minister Instead of a *Chargé d'Affaires*—Gives Vivid Description of State of Affairs at Spanish Court—Importance of the Navigation of the Mississippi—Humphreys' Return to Lisbon—Gives an Account to the Secretary of State of Mr. Carmichael's Cool Reception by King of Spain—Urges the Appointment of a Resident Minister to Spain—His Letter to his Friend Wadsworth Giving his First Impressions of the Peninsula.

THE Kingdom of Portugal, territorially small and without any extensive manufactures, was yet powerful in the councils of Europe through its rich South American Colonies, especially Brazil. It had been ruled with great vigour in the middle of the eighteenth century by the Marquis of Pombal, the Prime Minister of Joseph II., who introduced reforms, suppressed insurrections of nobles and Jesuits, abolished slavery in the Kingdom, established

public schools and formulated a new code of laws. Upon his death in 1782 the country was allowed to drift back into its former state of listlessness and ignorance. It had previously become practically a commercial appendage of England, and English influence was predominant in its policy. The successor of Joseph II., who died in 1777 was his daughter Maria who married her Uncle Pedro III. At the time when the United States sent its first diplomatic agent, the Chevalier de Pinto was administering foreign affairs with excellent judgment and endeavouring to perpetuate the reforms of the great Marquis. He already knew Colonel Humphreys and his cordial good will to the United States had been shown in friendly and unofficial overtures and the sending of a Minister to the United States.

Humphreys wrote on November 19th to the Secretary of State, from Lisbon, announcing his safe arrival.

Lisbon was then a port of even greater importance than it is now. Its spacious harbour is one of the most beautiful in the world and the city boasts of large attractive public and private buildings.

The cordial manner in which our representative was received, and the evident intention of Portugal to meet the new nation is graphically set forth in the letters of Colonel Humphreys of November 30, 1790, to the Secretary of State and the President, which supplement each other. In his letter to the Chevalier, Mr. Jefferson recalls his former pleasant intercourse with him in London, mentions the institution of government under a constitution for that under Articles of Confederation and the desire still existing for cordial foreign relations, but without involving the United States in any entanglement with European affairs. Economy must be the rule at present for our foreign representatives and the President and himself both thought that the grade of *Charge d'Affaires* was that best suited



Profile of the Marble Bust of Humphreys, Presented to Yale
(Showing a remarkable likeness to Washington)

for the representative of the new Nation. He then urges reasons for this and instances the relaxation of the rigid etiquette of the Spanish in favour of the American *Chargeé*. In closing he begs to offer this letter in an unofficial capacity "under the protection of those sentiments of veneration and esteem with which your character heretofore inspired me." He requests him to "be so good as to honour with a conference the bearer, Colonel Humphreys (who was known to you in London), a gentleman who long had been of the President's family, and whose worth has acquired so much of our confidence, that whatever shall be arranged with him on this subject may be considered as settled."¹

Humphreys' official letter to the Secretary of State is as follows:

LISBON, November 30th, 1790.

SIR,

As soon as my baggage was landed I wrote a note to M. de Pinto advising that I was charged with the delivery of a letter from you to him, and requesting the honor of being informed at what time it would be convenient for his Excellency to receive it. To this he gave an extremely polite answer, and fixed upon the 25th of this month at his house in Tunqueira. I accordingly waited on him; and though he had been so much indisposed the preceding night as to refuse all other visits that morning, as soon as my name was sent in, he received me in his closet with great goodness. Upon perusing your letter he enquired kindly about your health expressed himself strongly attached to you personally, and gave the most pointed assurances of his dispositions to promote a friendly intercourse between our two nations; at the same time declaring that he had been much mortified in not having been able to carry your former negotiations into effect;—but that, you know, it was

¹ For the full text of this letter dated New York, August 7, see Jefferson's *Works*, iii., edition of 1854, pp. 174–176.

not owing to his fault, and adding that he was very happy to have obtained from the Queen the nomination of the Chr de Freire as Minister Resident in the United States, because Mr. de Freire was so well known to Mr. Adams, yourself & many respectable Americans, and because he was himself fully acquainted with that gentleman, and knew him to be a person of good understanding strict honor, conciliating temper, and well inclined to the United States. I gave him the best answer of civility in my power, with assurance of the reciprocal favorable dispositions of the Executive of the United States; and that from the partial acquaintance I had formerly had the pleasure to have with M de Freire, as well as from the excellent reputation he universally sustained there was no doubt he would be perfectly well received in, and highly acceptable, as a Diplomatic Character to the United States; but I observed that the designation of this gentleman as such was not known in America at the time when I left it; that therefore the overtures contained in the letter I had just had the honor of delivering to him, originated spontaneously with the American government in the same friendly sentiments which had influenced her most Faithful Majesty to make this nomination; that this was the first new arrangement of a diplomatic nature which had been proposed since the establishment of the present government; that his Excellency would be pleased to notice that motives of economy, and difference in circumstances between our young nation and the old nations of Europe, were the reasons which operated with the Executive of the United States for wishing to keep only a *Chargé des affaires* might also answer for a Minister resident, whose intermediate grade between a Minister plenipoy & a *chargé des affaires* would certainly give him more respectability than the latter, without subjecting him of necessity to more expense; and he named an instance of a Minister Resident, who being a merchant, did not receive a single farthing of pay from his Court, and yet enjoyed all the privileges & favor annexed to that Grade.

But he laid the principal stress of the propriety of the measure of naming a Minister resident from the Court of Lisbon to the United States upon their not being able to select

a sufficiently worthy and dignified character, who would consent to go such a distance in only the capacity of Chargé des affaires. He finished by saying that as such good dispositions prevailed on both parts he flattered himself that there could not be a difficulty about names, rather than things; that he was not, however, enabled to give any conclusive opinion without first consulting the Queen and her other ministers. Here I took occasion of enlarging, as much as I could with decency, upon our situation as a new nation in a manner dissevered from the rest of the world; the system which had been established by us, the policy and propriety there might be for European nations to dispense with forms in regard to us, and the conduct of Spain on this subject; together with whatever other topics I judged might without indiscretion be adduced as tending to obtain the object in view. The Chr de Pinto rejoined much to the same effect he had before and added that he would also give the sentiments he had now expressed in writing to you, in answer to your letter, particularly on the impossibility of finding a proper character who would be willing to go to America, merely in the quality of Chargé des affaires. As he appeared to be somewhat unwell and as the ground of the business had been so much changed from what it was understood to be when I left America, by the actual appointment to the Chr de Freire a Minister Resident to the United States, I did not press the conversation so much at that interview as I should otherwise have done, but before I took my leave I added, that as he had been pleased to mention that whatever had fallen from him in the course of this conversation was not to be considered as conclusive, and as perhaps something further would occur to make some alteration of opinion in consequence of the observations that had been or might be made it was my desire to know at what time I might have the honor of seeing him again on the subject of this conference. He assigned this day at twelve o'clock.

I attended at the time appointed, and the Chr de Pinto informed me that having considered attentively the subject of your letter, he was still fully confirmed in the sentiments he had expressed to me in our first conversation; that he greatly

applauded the system of severe economy in which we were laying the foundations of our new Government; that attention to this economy (as he had before observed) need however occasion no objection against our naming a Minister Resident rather than a Chargé des affaires, because there be no need of difference of expense in the grades; and that altho' the étiquette which had formerly been observed by the Court of Lisbon in not admitting Chargé des affaires to equal privileges with Ministers might be dispensed with yet the policy of keeping a person of respectable character from that Court in the United States had made it absolutely necessary to appoint a Minister Resident; for he repeated the assertion to me upon his word of honor and with the greatest appearance of earnestness that they could not find a person who was proper to be employed in a public character in America, and who would accept the appointment as Chargé des Affaires. He also mentioned that it was impossible for the Queen to receive a Diplomatic character of a different denomination from that which she sent.

I observed, in reply, that the embarrassment of the government of the United States would not probably be occasioned so much by the article of expense in the present instance, as by a deviation from the system to which they had wished to adhere; that it would be peculiarly unfortunate & much to be regretted, if the systems of the two nations should be so incompatible, as to prevent an exchange of diplomatic characters, when the mutual interests & inclinations of both seemed to render it so expedient, and after recapitulating under different points of view several observations which had been before suggested, I remarked that altho' his Excellency might have noticed it was hinted in your letter, that whatever should be agreed with me as to the grade of diplomatic characters to be exchanged should be considered as settled; yet as I was not authorized to agree upon the exchange of any but in the capacity of Chargé des affaires, and as in the meantime a Minister Resident had been appointed by this Court, I did not perceive what could be done at present—farther than to state the circumstance to the Executive of the United States. He

said if I would give him leave he would read to me the draft of a letter he was preparing for you, which he did, and which as well as I could comprehend from a single reading I believe in addition to what I have already had the honor to report, will bring you sufficiently acquainted with the purport of what passed in the conference I was directed to hold with Chr de Pinto on the subject of your letter to him. The polite attention of that minister merits all my acknowledgements. Having made arrangements for hiring Mules, I propose to set out for Spain immediately, and return here before it will be possible for your answer to this letter to arrive in this place.—An ambassador extraordinary from Vienna has just come to Lisbon to announce to this Court the election of the Emperor of Germany. A Portugese frigate to the new Emperor of Morocco went down the river yesterday. Nothing farther is known here respecting the terms of the Convention between Spain and England than when I wrote to you on the 19th of this month.

With sentiments of perfect esteem & consideration I have the Honor to be Sir

Your most obedient & Most Humble Servant,

D. HUMPHREYS.

The Secretary of the United States for the Department of State.¹

To Washington, Humphreys writes confidentially.

(*Secret*)

LISBON Nov. 30th 1790.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

I have forwarded to Mr. Jefferson, for your information, the continuation of my Proceedings until the present time. You will be pleased to observe by my letter to him of this date, that the Court of Lisbon, having from a desire of opening an official intercourse with the U. S., made the first advance by appointing a Minister Resident to repair thither now finds it

¹ U. S. Archives, State Dept., Washington, D. C.

an unpleasant & difficult task to tread back the steps it has thus, as an elder Nation, taken in respect to us. It would, doubtless, be desirable to meet those advances, if it may be done without impropriety. I do not know what particular reasons exist on the part of the Government of U. S. (except those which relate to expenses) that might induce it to decline making an appointment which would be so satisfactory to this Court. There seems to be considerable force in what the Ch^r de Pinto has alledged with the intent to obviate the embarrassments, on account of the pecuniary provision. The proper & necessary expenses of a Chargé des Affaires will I believe be pretty nearly the same in every respect with those of a Minister Resident. Should I have the honor of being nominated in the latter quality, in return for the Ch^r de Freire, by the best enquiries I have been able to make, I think, as a single man I may establish a Household and with good economy, live decently in such a manner as not to discredit myself, or my nation, for the Salary annexed to the Office of Chargé des Affaires. If, therefore, a change of the name should take place, I should expect it to be with a restriction to the Salary of a Chargé des Affaires. In case of appointment to either grade according to permission of the Act of Congress, I suppose, however, a sum not exceeding (nor less than) a year's Salary, will be granted to the Person so appointed for the purchase of furniture &c. Mr. Jefferson well remembers what inconveniences resulted to him from the want of such a provision for outfits, and how indispensably necessary it will be, under all circumstances, at the beginning. Here the difference between hiring a House furnished or unfurnished, is much greater than in France. The rent of a good House, unfurnished but beautifully situated in the neighborhood of Lisbon is very reasonable.

I would not have troubled you with these details trifling in themselves, though under circumstances they may be somewhat interesting to me; had not the Minister of her Most Faithful Majesty seemed so much attached to the idea of continuing the appointment of Minister Resident to his friend, the Ch^r de Freire that I am induced to imagine a refusal on our

part to make an exchange in that grade would not only prevent that Gentleman from going to America at all, but perhaps any arrangement for the exchange of Diplomatic Characters for the present. The Court having recalled its Ambassador from Rome to succeed the Ch^r de Freire at London; this last mentioned Gentleman must be entirely thrown out of employment until some vacancy shall happen and the Court may have to encounter either the real or pretended difficulty of not being able to find a Character suitable & willing to fill the Office of Chargé des Affaires in the U. S. A similar real or pretended difficulty you may recollect has long existed in the British Cabinet.

I only beg leave farther to suggest in case an appointment of any nature whatsoever should be made by the Executive of America to this Court, whether it would not be a good opportunity for you, as Chief Magistrate of the U. S. to write a short letter to the Queen in your own hand (to be presented at the first Audience with the public Credentials) expressive of your sense of the friendly dispositions Her Majesty has manifested towards the U. S. especially in the Order given for the Portuguese fleets to afford every succour to American vessels, and to protect them from Algerine Corsairs. This singular instance of attention, which has in fact been very useful to our Mediterranean Trade, seems to merit on our part some particular notice.

The Queen would probably be much flattered by your likewise taking occasion to express a desire of cultivating the Amity and Commerce, which so happily subsist between the two nations, and which (being founded upon principles of mutual advantage without any interfering claims or discordant interests) promise to be of long and beneficial continuance.

With every sentiment of affection & respect,

I have the honor to be,

Your most grateful and Most humble Servant,

D. HUMPHREYS.

The President of the United States.¹

¹ U. S. Archives, State Dept., Washington, D. C.

After his pleasant conference with the Portuguese foreign minister, Col. Humphreys through his kind offices and those of the bankers, Messrs. John Bulkley & Son, to whom Mr. Johnson had commended him, received his passports on December 3rd, and arranged for the long journey of nearly five hundred miles to Madrid. He found there were no post horses available, but occasionally returning carriages could be engaged at a reasonable rate.

Leaving on that day he travelled rapidly without stopping through the day, excepting for an hour at noon. In announcing his arrival, he says he will "mention nothing he is unwilling to be known at Court as he is certain his letters will be opened in the post-office."

By Mr. Carmichael who had been away from his native land for more than seven years he was received with very great pleasure. The position that gentleman was in was most unhappy as the Court of Spain was bitterly hostile to any assertion of American claims, had a jealous and watchful regard for its colony of Louisiana and a wish to keep in its own control all the commerce of the great river.

The disagreement with England was indeed an opportunity for the manifestation of a more friendly feeling toward the United States. Had Mr. Carmichael been clothed with full powers as a Minister and not been in an inferior rank he would have received greater consideration, and could have accomplished more for the advantage of his country. In the letter of Mr. Jefferson written from New York, August 2, 1790, which was entrusted to Col. Humphreys with a long memorandum on the right to the Mississippi, he dwells upon the necessity of tact and address in urging the American claim and their desire for a port at the mouth of the River. The development of the whole subject was very wisely left to Col. Humphreys as our representative at the Court of the Escurial was a man both unfit and uncapable for the position assigned to him.

It is well for the interests of our Country that in Humphreys the United States had a representative who while tenaciously American was still a well-bred gentleman and who could add to the *fortiter in re* the *suaviter in modo*.

NEW YORK, August 2, 1790.

DEAR SIR,

This letter will be delivered to you by Colonel Humphreys whose character is so well known to you as to need no recommendation from me. The present appearances of war between our two neighbours, Spain and England, cannot but excite all our attention. The part we are to act is uncertain, and will be difficult. The unsettled state of the dispute with Spain, may give a turn to it very different from what we wish. As it is important that you should be fully apprised of our way of thinking on this subject I have sketched, in the enclosed paper general heads of consideration arising from present Circumstances. These will readily be developed by your own reflections and in conversations with Colonel Humphreys; who, possessing the sentiments of the Executive on this subject, being well acquainted with the circumstances of the western country in particular, and of the state of our affairs in general, comes to Madrid expressly for the purpose of giving you a thorough communication of them. He will therefore remain there as many days, or weeks, as may be necessary for the purpose.

With this information written and oral, you will be able to meet the minister in conversation on the navigation of the Mississippi to which we wish you to lead his attention immediately. Impress him thoroughly with the necessity of an early and even immediate settlement of this matter, and of a return to the field of negotiation for this purpose; and though it must be done delicately, yet he must be made to understand unequivocally that a resumption of the negotiation is not desired on our part unless he can determine in the first opening of it, to yield the immediate and full enjoyment of that navigation, (I say nothing of the claims of Spain to our territory North of

the thirty-first degree and East of the Mississippi. They never merited the respect of an answer; and you know it has been admitted at Madrid, that they were not to be maintained.)

It may be asked what need of negotiation, if the navigation is to be ceded at all events? You know that the navigation cannot be practiced without a port, where the sea and river vessels may meet and exchange loads, and where those employed about them may be safe and unmolested. The right to use a thing comprehends a right to the means necessary to its use, and without which it would be useless. The fixing on a proper port and the degree of freedom it is to enjoy in its operations will require negotiation and be governed by events.

There is danger, indeed, that even the unavoidable delay of sending a negotiator here, may render the mission too late for the preservation of peace. It is impossible to answer for the forbearance of our western citizens. We endeavour to quiet them with an expectation of the attainment of their rights by peaceable means. But should they, in a moment of impatience, hazard others, there is no saying how far we may be led; for neither themselves nor their rights will ever be abandoned by us.

You will be pleased to observe that we press these matters warmly and fixedly, under this idea, that the war between Spain and Great Britain will be begun before you receive this; and such a moment must not be lost. But should an accommodation take place, we retain indeed the same object and the same resolution unalterably, but your discretion will suggest in that event they must be pressed more softly, and that patience and persuasion must temper your conferences till either these may prevail or some other circumstance turn up which may enable us to use other means for the attainment of an object which we are determined in the end to obtain at every risk.

I have the honor to be, with great esteem, dear Sir, Your
most obedient, and most humble servant,
TH. JEFFERSON.¹

¹ Jefferson's *Works*, iii., edition of 1854, pp. 172-174.

Mr. Carmichael seems to have been a man of excellent intentions but of limited abilities. He was eagerly desirous to present his nation faithfully at the Escurial, but he was hampered by the many restrictions placed upon him both by the Spanish Court and also by the absurd sensitiveness of many Americans in officially recognizing nations under a monarchical rule.

In his communication of the result of his conferences with Mr. Carmichael, Humphreys uses the cypher which had been furnished for the purpose. Unfortunately the State Department of today has lost the cypher which unlocks the dispatches of that period. Some of the dispatches transcribed in the records of the State Department were decyphered when received. In other cases the text has been decyphered through the patience and ingenuity of my friend, Dr. Lowndes.

(*In Cypher*)

No. 10.

MADRID, January 3rd, 1791.

I have had, Sir, many conversations with Mr. Carmichael on the subject of your letter to him. If it had arrived early in the summer, he thinks we might have obtained all our wishes. Then the critical state of affaires induced the Comte de Florida Blanca to throw out those general assertions that we should have no reason to complain of the conduct of this Court with respect to the Mississippi, which gave rise to the report—its navigation was opened. That Minister had intimations from del Cambo of the conferences between Mr. Morris and the Duke of Leeds which occasioned him to say with warmth to Mr. Carmichael, now is your time to make a treaty with England. Fitzherbert availed himself of those conferences to create apprehensions that the Americans would aid his nation in case of War. Long time the conduct of Spain was fluctuating and undecided.

After a variety of circumstances (which Mr. Carmichael has

explained in dispatches that have miscarried and which he will repeat in others by me) a conversation was formed whereby the British gained substantially everything they at first demanded. Want of money to support a war and the Queen's intrigues together with advice from the Comte Montmorin that peace was essential for France were probably the causes which compelled Spain to yield the point after each side had tried which could hold out longest. The preparations cost Spain sixteen million dollars. Thus the crisis most favorable for the attainment of our wishes is past. Unless there is some secret article in the convention by which England guarantees the possessions of Spain in America, resentment may remain in the Spanish Court for having been obliged to receive the law. They may also desire to be in readiness for events. How far these or other motives may operate in producing a change of system with respect to the United States remains to be learnt from an adherence to the latter part of your instructions to Mr. Carmichael.

The fact is clear that the United States are daily gaining political consideration in Europe. Spain guided by narrow policy towards its Colonies, fears the consequence of our increasing strength, and resources.

The Comte de Florida Blanca has been so long and so obstinately opposed to the admission of Foreign vessels into the Gulf of Mexico, that the most he can ever be persuaded to do will be to suffer somebody else to negotiate to whom if there be blame for inconsistency in policy, the fault may be imputed.

But the Comte not being well with the Queen, loses credit and recent circumstances indicate that he is but the ostensible, while le Reha (at the head of finance) is the real Minister. Mr. Carmichael thinks that if the Comte will not consent to open negotiations with liberal views it may be possible to displace him and find a Successor of better dispositions; that is if the Queen lived, but she is apprehensive of dying in childbed next month, which event would give the Comte more weight than ever.

Campomanes, who is the head of the judicatures, Comte d' Aranda and many others entertain just ideas with respect to

our Country. The first is high in influence and secretly an enemy to the Comte de Floridas Blanca; the last at the head of opposition, will not come into office himself but in case of a change of administration, some of his friends will succeed. Mr. Carmichael, being on terms of intimacy with the characters here, is certainly capable of effecting more at this Court than any other American.

He is heartily desirous of accomplishing the object in view at all events and fully determined to return to America in twelve or eighteen months at farthest. He has expressed that intention repeatedly. To be invested with full powers, perhaps he would be able to do something before his departure from this Continent. Of this however you will judge best from the tenor of his future communications and other circumstances. Nothing has passed between him and me on that subject. But I question whether this Court after having sent Gardofui to treat in America will ever send any other Minister there for that purpose. Even if they would I believe more advantages might be gained by negotiating here than there.

The British Ambassador has conferences with the Minister almost every day, which excites jealousy in the representatives of some other powers.

Something also gives uneasiness to this Court. Affairs do not go well. Frequent Councils are convened. The Government is feeble, jealous, mercenary and popular. The King is a well disposed, passionate, weak man. The Queen (a shrewd, well instructed Woman, addicted to pleasure and expense) governs the Kingdom. She is not beloved. Nor did either of them receive the usual acclamations of the people when they returned from their country residence last fall. The Queen has even been insulted, which makes her appear rarely in public. For this offence twelve washer-women have been confined and their husbands banished the Kingdom because they petitioned for their release. Several natives of distinction have lately been exiled from the Capital to the Provinces, among others the Comptess of Galvey, Comte Segur, a Frenchman, accused of being the Author of a libel against the Queen, within a week past died of rigorous confinement.

This government, alarmed at the success of the Revolution in France shows great distrust and hatred of the French.

Several have been arrested at mid-night and hurried out of the country. People begin to think and even to speak in private circles freely. In some Provinces dissatisfaction prevails on account of new taxes.

Three Regiments are just sent into Galicia to quell those disturbances, where an attempt was made to assassinate the new General on the road. General Lacy (who commands at Barcelona and has been obliged to menace the City by turning the Cannon against it) is continually writing to Court for men and military supplies. Tho' the Spaniards in many places retain the appearance, habits and manners of a people who have but lately lost their liberty; yet affaires are not ripe for reformation from want of leaders, information, turn within the time limited by the decrees of the National Assembly.

I have the honor to be your
most obedient servant,
D. HUMPHREYS.¹

Humphreys' second dispatch from Madrid followed within a fortnight.

(*In Cypher*)

No. 11.

MADRID, January 15th 1791.

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

SIR,

I have employed my time here in communicating according to instructions the sentiments of the President on the navigation of the Mississippi, and other important points. Mr. Carmichael's ideas are just, his exertions will be powerful, and unremitting to obtain the accomplishment of our desires before his departure from this country; the task will now be difficult, if not impracticable, from the opinions which are impressed

¹ U. S. Archives, State Dept., Washington, D. C.

on this Court. I fear these are rather rivetted than impressed to the very substance of their former jealous policy.

I learn from other good authority as well as from Mr. Carmichael that all the representations of Gardoqui (when Minister in America) tended to excite a belief that the most respectable and influential people throughout the United States did not wish to have the navigation of the Mississippi opened for years to come, from an apprehension such an event would weaken the Government, and impoverish the Atlantic States by emigrations. It was even pretended that none but a handful of settlers on the Western waters, and a few inhabitants of the Southern States would acquiesce in the measure. At present affaires here are guided more by intrigue than reason. So that no one can answer for the consequence of a negotiation. Means are used to bring our subject with advantage into discussion.— The King is just gone to hunt for two days; play is usual after the holidays; his prime minister and the family Ambassadors only attended him. Nothing can be ascertained until his return.

It is not improbable a change of Ministry may soon take place. The situation about the Court becomes every day more critical. Nor is it less so in the country. The night before last twenty-two French and Italians were sent from Madrid under guard, out of the Kingdom for speaking too freely; as was one Spanish Marquis to a distant Province.

The Austrian Netherlands have entirely submitted to the Emperor. The people of Liege are in the way to do the same to their Bishop. In the North the Empire of Russia has gained farther advantages.

A peace in that quarter is expected.

In France the refusal of a great part of the Bishops to take the Oath, and the report of plots occasion considerable agitation. Still the Constitution strengthens.

I have the honor to be with great respect,

Your most obedient Servant,

D. HUMPHREYS.¹

¹ U. S. Archives, State Dept., Washington, D. C.

After successfully accomplishing his mission Colonel Humphreys returned to Lisbon, and in a full letter to the Secretary gives some of the results achieved and shows forcibly the annoyance and embarrassment which the supposed necessary economy of the United States entailed upon the representative at the Court of Madrid.

No. 12.

LISBON, February 6th 1791.

TO THE SECRETARY OF THE U. S. FOR THE
DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

SIR,

On the 24th of January I left Madrid and arrived here this day. I remained a week beyond the time, I had prescribed myself in order that Mr. Carmichael might have an opportunity of conferring fully with the Compte de Florida Blanca, after the King's return from hunting at Aranjuez. We were however disappointed in the expectation of sounding that Minister, for at the time when Mr. Carmichael waited upon him with that intent, so many Characters of a superior grade in the Diplomatic Corps attended in the Antechamber that he found no possibility of having an audience for business, or even of speaking to him a single word of any kind. Although Mr. Carmichael as Chargé des Affaires of the United States, has been treated with more attention and favor than any other, yet we laboured under a great mistake in supposing that His most Catholic Majesty had so far dispensed with a general rule (under consideration of our peculiar circumstances as a Nation) as to place him on a level with Ministers of the first or second Order, in favorable treatment of person or advantageous situation for business.

The contrary is so clear a truth, that no Chargé des Affaires is permitted to attend the King's Levees with Ambassadors and Ministers. Nor on other occasions, let them attend ever so early, can they address the Minister of State until all Diplomatic Characters of higher grade shall have finished their business with him. It is true the privilege of appearing in the

Royal presence with Ambassadors &c. is of little consequence to the welfare of the States in whose service they are employed.

But it is a serious misfortune, when they have national affaires of an important nature to discuss with the Minister not to be able to speak to him at all, or not until he has so tired of conversing with others that he will not give them a patient hearing. This is exactly the case in the transactions which Mr. Carmichael is obliged to have with the Compte de Florida Blanca.

As the business with which he is now charged requires to be managed with uncommon address and delicacy, I have advised him to seize some good occasion for obtaining a particular audience to explain our desires specifically, but in the most discreet manner with the reasons and motives on which they are founded,—and I have told him that I apprehended the sooner this could be done the better it would be; since the affairs of Europe far from being settled, may soon produce a crisis highly favorable to the promotion of our interests; and since our Western Settlers cannot brook long delay. Hitherto he had only found a casual opportunity (that is to say, immediately after my arrival) to suggest to the Minister in general terms, without abruptness, our sincere disposition to be connected with Spain in the most liberal and friendly manner; and for this purpose the apparent expediency of making arrangements respecting the navigation of the Mississippi, before any ill adventures shall happen in that quarter.

During my whole journey and continuance in Madrid, I endeavoured in the character of a traveller, to keep a middle line between an ostentatious display of myself and an affectation of entire privacy. But as I was known to some of the Diplomatic Corps, in person; and, it seems, to the Comte de Florida Blanca, by character, a general conclusion prevailed that I had come to Spain on some business of National concern.

Nothing ever fell from me to countenance this idea; and I entreat you will be persuaded that I have exerted myself to fulfill the wishes of the Executive to the best of my abilities.

I was sorry to find Mr. Carmichael's health had suffered very much by the climate. He has been severely attacked

by bilious and nervous disorders; in so much that last fall he did not expect to survive. He is much mortified that so many of his dispatches have miscarried.

By the original documents which I have seen in his hands, I am convinced he has been extremely assiduous and successful in procuring early and authentic intelligence. I have also seen the Cyphers formerly sent to him and the Certificates of the manner in which he received them.

It is difficult for a person at a distance to form an adequate judgement of the embarrassments to which a public man, situated as he was, is subjected in making written communications from such an inland place, and under such a jealous Government. He appears disgusted with the Country, and the mode of life he is compelled to lead. He desires ardently to return to his native land; but he wishes to distinguish himself first by rendering some essential services to it, if possible—

Just before I came from Madrid an Ambassador from Morocco had arrived there. In this Kingdom everything remains very quiet; and as far as I can learn the people enjoy much tranquillity and happiness under the mild Administration of the reigning Sovereign.

With sentiments of the highest esteem and respect,

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your most obedient & most humble Servant

D. HUMPHREYS.

P.S. I have found the memorandum which I had misplaced in my Cypher; and therefore shall not have occasion to trouble you with repeating it as I requested in my Letter No. 7.—^x

While he was uncertain as to his future movements he maintained the character of a traveller.

He found in the merchants and bankers, the Messrs. Bulkley, to whom he had been recommended, men of honour and integrity, holding a high place in the com-

^x U. S. Archives, State Dept., Washington, D. C.

mercial and social life of Lisbon. Through them he made a great number of acquaintances.

His early impressions of the country are given in this letter to his friend Colonel Wadsworth:

LISBON, Feby. 9th, 1791.

MY DEAR WADSWORTH,

I have only time by the vessel which sails immediately to inform you my safe return to this place. This I do in conformity to the promise I recollect to have made in my last letter. But I cannot explain in black and white the numerous Dialogues I held in dumb show during my journey. Some of them were curious & deserve very much to be immortalized. Nor can I (as I wished to have done for your amusement) enter into any detail of the political, commercial or agricultural affairs of the Countries through which I have travelled. Suffice it to say "they manage matters better in France!"

The Government of Spain is weak, jealous, & unpopular, is taking the right measures to irritate the People to act on that Theatre, those scenes which have been exhibited in their neighbouring Kingdom. But there is little or no prospect of a Revolution from want of some person to conduct it. The King is a good tempered man possessed of timid abilities and entirely under the influence of his Queen.

The Queen is a sensible woman but capricious and devoted to pleasure. People begin to express contempt or hatred of them in private circles; and many have been banished from the Capital to the Provinces.

In the Country everything is tranquil. The Government is administered with more devotion, wisdom & good policy. The subjects appear contented & happy.

Intreating you to present my most affectionate regards to our friends & your family,

I remain, with sentiments of perfect esteem and respect
My dear Sir

Your sincere friend & humble servant,
D. HUMPHREYS.

P.S. Will you be so good as to forward by Post or otherwise the letter which is enclosed.

It is not impossible that there will be an extensive if not general war next summer.

CHAPTER V

Conditions in Spain and Portugal

Humphreys' Remarkable Insight into Spanish Character—His Letter to the President of February 16, 1791—Reviews Condition of Spain—Character of Its King—And Queen—The Government—The Judicature—The People—The Climate—Agriculture—Commerce—Manufactures—Trade—The Army—The Navy—Literature—Religion and Superstition—Humphreys Sends Account of Trade between Portugal and U. S. to Jefferson—He Removes his Residence from Lisbon to Mafra—Effect in U. S. of Humphreys' Report—President Determines to Follow his Advice and Appoint a Resident Minister to Court of Lisbon—Nominates Humphreys—Nomination Confirmed by Congress—Memorandum Drawn up by Jefferson on the Matter of Representatives of U. S. at Foreign Courts—Communicates Humphreys Appointment to him—Sends him Certain General Instructions—Letter of Washington to Humphreys Giving Brief Survey of Conditions in U. S.

THE alertness in grasping the true political situation and quickness in apprehending the main points at issue which Humphreys has shown on his last visit to London is equally apparent after his brief stay in the Peninsula.

It is remarkable how in so short a time he is able to give so accurate a presentment not only of Spanish characteristics in general but to descend into particulars as to the actual state of the Court, the condition of Agriculture, Commerce, and Trade, the efficiency of the Army and Navy, the influence of the Roman Catholic Religion on the lives, customs, and morals of the nation, the aspirations of the people and the effect of its literature on them. His

observations could even at this date, a century after they were penned, be read with profit by our statesmen at Washington. Not only are his observations accurate but his comments on them are of permanent value. The following letter to his old friend, the President, shows it will be admitted, not only insight but foresight.

LISBON, Feby 16th, 1791.

MY DEAR SIR:—

Although it is impossible for a stranger in merely travelling through a country & remaining only a few weeks in its capital to give a complete account of the state of affairs & system of policy in it; yet he may have opportunity of collecting some information which will be perhaps entertaining if not useful, to Persons in public life at a distance. Under this idea, in consequence of your permission, I take the liberty of writing this unofficial letter; which is designed solely as the vehicle of such miscellaneous remarks and anecdotes as might not be deemed proper subjects of public communication.

By my two cyphered letters of the 3rd & 15th of July addressed to the Secretary of State you will have perceived what was my prevailing opinion in general of the present condition of the Spanish Government and Nation.

According to the best representations of the King I have met with, he would be much more esteemed as a private Man, than as a Monarch. He means well. He has many good traits in his character; but he has not abilities sufficient to promote the prosperity of his People, and he is acknowledged by all to be extremely hasty and impetuous in his temper. Under the impulse of a violent momentary passion, he has at times, treated the Queen with incredible roughness. Once, when Prince of Asturias, he threw a hot dish of Chocolate into her bosom. But she, possessed of great command of temper knows how to draw political advantage & encrease of influence from such premeditated outrage itself. The King's repentance, which is as sudden as the sally of passion, leaves her mistress of his conduct. To this condescending behaviour, a diffidence

in his own judgment and capacity greatly contribute. He does nothing of a public nature without consulting her. Even at Levees, and on occasions when he is obliged to appear in Public, to receive the Compliments of the Court, it is asserted, that he seems lost and totally ignorant of what is necessary to be said or done unless she is at his elbow.

Generally she does all the talking and he assents to it. He is reported to say often to her, "You know my dear Louise you are very ugly but you know I love you and nobody but you." This is the fact. So much in regard to him cannot be said with equal truth by her, unless she is indeed most grievously slandered by her Enemies. But she has always had address enough to persuade her husband that she is the most virtuous and the most affectionate of wives. For this purpose it is said, she has conducted her intrigues with great precaution, always choosing her Cortego (as he is called in Spanish) out of the Garde du Corps, as her apartments are more accessible to them than others; and beginning her connection by fixing the King's partiality in favor of her friends. The Person who now enjoys the Royal protection is named Godoy & of that Corps. He was a private without family, fortune, or interest. His Majesty has lately made him a Brigadier & one of the two Adjutants-Generals of the Guards. Presents of all kinds are lavished upon him. Offices & promotions are obtained through him, and he is, perhaps, the most powerful man in the Kingdom. At least the first officers of State and the few Individuals who were supposed to have some personal independence & patriotism as being better informed than their Countrymen in general, are obliged to pay their Court to him. In the greater part of the Grandees, neither this or any other species of humiliation would be surprising for they are without education & without character. These Nobles are compelled to live about the Court; and the King treats them, as well as everybody else with much less politeness than his predecessor did. I mention this as the testimony of those accustomed to attend his Levees & those of his Father. Ambassadors & Ministers have two days in a week assigned for them. No foreigner can be presented but by some Ambassador.—I have assisted once only

at the public dinners: having from a desire of not attracting notice, declined being presented; as from the military rank I had held I was entitled to have been. For no officer under the grade of a Colonel can be presented. The King dined alone and I observed nothing remarkable except that he drinks nothing but water. Nor as I am told, does the Queen or any of the Royal family, but the Prince of Asturias to whom a small quantity of wine is given medicinally.

After dinner the Queen came into the room to the King, they went round the circle together, spoke to 8 or 10 persons, out of 100 and withdrew. The King, like his Father, is fond of the Chase, or at least of being in the open air. He seems desirous of finding out some resource to enable him to get rid of that tediousness of time to which Kings are so often a prey. He never or scarcely ever, fails hunting every day and interferes little with the cares of State. In the meantime it will be understood from what I have said, that the affairs of Government, under such unfavorable auspices must be managed in a capricious, arbitrary & unsatisfactory manner. Generally, a bad form of Government, when well administered becomes tolerable; & even the People are likely to enjoy some little portion of public felicity when their want & wishes are attended to by their Rulers. In the actual state of the Spanish Government, the People to whom little remains, are deprived of these consolations, even scarcely the shadow of respect for their former liberties remains. There hardly exists a vestige of their ancient Cortes; or any Barrier against the invasions of the Crown. The Council of Castile, however, as the first legal tribunal of the Nation, sometimes acts with firmness & justice. This was believed to have been the case when as I left Madrid in the acquittal of a Person accused at the instance of the Compte de Florida Blanca of having written a libel against the Government, or rather against the administration of that Minister. Ordinarily what ever regards the People is of little avail with the Government of that Country. At a dinner of the Russian Minister where I was present, he did not hesitate to declare, on conversing on some recent unpopular measures that the Government of Russia respects the public opinion

infinitely more than the Government of Spain yet in some instances in order to save appearances, the deliberation on national questions is referred to certain commissioners; as was done at the time when the late Convention with England was in negociation. But it is reported from pretty good authority the business was concluded secretly two or three days before the answer was received from the Commissioners. The tenor of that Convention is not yet generally known among the Spaniards as no Copy has ever been in circulation. How they would relish it therefore cannot be ascertained. No national dishonor would probably much affect the feelings of the degenerate Grandees. But the mass of the People, particularly in some Provinces, have much more sensibility of national glory . . . more manliness of sentiment . . . and, if I may be allowed so to express myself a much better stamina for the character of Freemen. I was surprised to find these people in the Provinces of Estremadura & Castile through which I passed almost universally possessed of fire Arms.— With regard to the state of the Country, I should but repeat a common observation in mentioning that since the expulsion of the Moor & the establishment of Spanish Colonies in America, Agriculture, Manufactures, Commerce, & every species of Industry have languished throughout Spain in an extraordinary degree. Hence, a Country blessed with an excellent soil and climate, formerly fruitful in all kinds of produce, became destitute of almost everything; or at least, but partially, supplied from itself with the essentials & primary necessities of life. During the late reign a number of Natives more enlightened & zealous for the national prosperity than the rest, under the title of friends of their Country, established œconomical Societies for the purpose of reanimating the national spirit and directing their fellow Citizens to useful pursuits. They were under the royal patronage & furnished with some public funds. In different Provinces & places there are now sixty. Their attention is turned toward the promotion of Agriculture, Trade, various Fabricks, useful arts, Belles Lettres, etc., as well as to the investigation of the History, Antiquities, & Productions of their Country. Some good has

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resulted from these institutions, but much remains to be done.

Agriculture, particularly, remains in a very imperfect state. It is computed that not more than half the land in Spain is cultivated. In the two Castiles & Andalusia it is not unfrequent to travel twelve or fifteen miles without seeing a house. Wherever the Country is interspersed with tillage, the labourers have often to go four or six miles in the morning to the place where their day's work is to begin and to return the same distance at night. This is a great waste of time. The instruments of husbandry are of the worst kind and the exercise of them especially in ploughing, I have observed to be much inferior to what it is in Portugal. Still the quantity of grain produced in the inland parts might be sufficient for the supply of the whole Kingdom; if there were any means of conveying it by water. But the expense of land transportation will always occasion that brought from America to be afforded cheaper for the Inhabitants of the Maritime Provinces, than that raised in the Kingdom at distance from the Sea. The roads in general are good. But most articles are carried to market on the backs of Mules or Asses; and not in Carriages. The difference of the prices of the same things in different parts of Spain is very great. In Madrid the necessaries of life I believe are more extravagant than in London or Paris. At the public Houses on the roads at a considerable distance from the Sea, codfish from America is plentier & cheaper than any other goods that is to be found. This seems the more strange as the droves of Cattle, herds of Swine & flocks of Sheep are apparently numerous & excellent. I never have seen larger cattle, fatter hogs, or better sheep than in Spain. The two first kinds of these animals far exceeded my expectation. The third equalled its celebrated character in number & fineness, but the horses fell far short of the idea I had formed of their beauty & goodness. It is a desideratum to reconcile more effectually the grazing with the farming business.

The œconomical Societies have offered premiums for the best dissertations on the means of keeping up the breed of sheep, etc. & at the same time converting some of the arable lands now uncleared to purposes of cultivation. But the

arbitrary nature of the Government discourages ameliorations, and the high duties on Wool induce the Proprietors of the largest flock to diminish the number at this moment. The Government has endeavoured by sumptuary laws, & other regulations to prevent the importation, and in some instances, the use of luxuries. They have also affected by various Projects to give a stimulus to home manufactures. Partial success has attended the Projects. The Segovia fine cloth is manufactured to the amount of 3,000,000 Livres annually. Coarser fabrics are established elsewhere. An effort has been made to revive the manufacture of silk. Many Workmen have been attracted into the Kingdom, 5000 to the City of Valence. But the number is very unequal to what it was formerly, when there were 20,000 in Seville alone. Though the raw Materials are nearly twenty pr Cent cheaper than in France, yet the manufactures can only be afforded at about the same price. The work is inferior in neatness of texture & brilliancy of colour. English goods, wares, & merchandise are held in high estimation.

All Goods entering the Kingdom pay an impost from 10 to 15 & 25 pr Cent. And all Property transferred is subject to a tax of 10 pr. Cent called the Alcavale. Catalonia & Biscay have struggled successfully in many instances against the infringements which were meditated on their rights. The latter, in particular, would never suffer the establishment of Custom Houses upon the same footing on which they are established in the other Provinces.

Not having been in any of the commercial parts of the Kingdom, I could say nothing satisfactory on the Trade of it. Complaints are made that the most profitable branches are engrossed by Companies possessed of exclusive privileges. Many supplies are obtained by Contracts, which may perhaps be as injurious to the Public as they are represented to be lucrative to the Contractors. Much corruption & venality are thought to be practiced in the offices where Trade is regulated. Notwithstanding the large annual importation of the precious Metals from America; Money is remarkably scarce. A great deal of base Copper is in circulation. The Paper of the Bank of St. Charles has depreciated very much. The Army, I

apprehend, is not in very good order. A few Reg^{ts} were completed during the late expectation of a rupture with Great Britain. But many are not now more than two hundred strong. The expedient adopted in emergencies of drafting from the Villages every fifth unmarried man would give a respectable body of Recruits. Whenever this measure is expected to be enforced, it induces a good many to marry & so answers a valuable purpose in augmenting the population. The Navy by the best account I have been able to obtain of it, is in much fitter condition for service than ever it has been before. The vessels of war that have been lately disarmed in consequence of the Convention with England are kept in such a state as that they might be in readiness for sea at a short notice. An attempt however slight it might be to sketch the state of manners & society in Spain would require too long a discussion to be comprised in a letter. I will therefore hasten a conclusion with a few cursory remarks on this subject. Considerable changes have been made in dress & other exterior objects since the accession of the House of Bourbon to the throne of Spain. In short, fashions & habits, in some respects, are entirely different from what they formerly were. No black among fashionable People is worn but in mourning. No jealousy in connubial connections, is to be met with except among foreigners. Gallantry & Gaming seem to be amusements or rather their employments in which strangers as well as Natives, consume considerable portion of their time. For want of other resources they are driven to avail themselves of these. The suspicious temper of Government by keeping spies & other checks upon free intercourse in order to prevent the introduction of political innovations destroys the sociability which was heretofore to be found in private circles. The Compte d'Aranda is the only Nobleman in Madrid, who keeps Assemblies at his House. Some of his Friends thought he incurred a risque in doing it this Winter.

From everything that has fallen within my notice I cannot doubt that the Spaniards naturally possess wit, sprightliness, genius & capacity for improvement. But they have almost insuperable bars to surmount. The rigours of unlimited

Monarchy & the clogs of long established superstition must be gradually removed. Genius is depressed; merit unrewarded. No original Performances which breath a spirit of liberality in politics or religion would be permitted to be published. But on some occasions, the vigilence of Government appears to be lulled so as to let in light & information, and what is of more effect those pictures of freedom which produce sympathetic & animated emotions, through the representations on the stage & the medium of translation from other languages. Several Plays, taken from the Roman & other Histories which are calculated to awaken patriotic sentiments & energies are sometimes suffered to be acted on the Spanish Theatres. Middleton's Life of Cicero & many good modern Books are lately translated & printed. Among others an incorrect but tolerably faithful History of the American Revolution containing all the state Papers & most animated Peices written at the Commencement of the War. On the subject of morals I will only add that very few executions take place in Spain. The common People are extremely under the influence of their Priests. Whether that influence is a counter balance to many ill consequences, has a tendency to restrain them within the limits of decency & morality I cannot pretend to determine. The late King who I conceive had more real merit than has commonly been allowed to him, was always extremely solicitous that all Ecclesiastical Places, & in particular those of high dignity should be filled with irreproachable Characters. In fact the higher Clergy are generally esteemed for the propriety & as it is called, the sanctity of their lives. I was surprised to hear of some instances of uncommon liberality in the behaviour & conversation of Individuals among them. Still, much ignorance continues among the Mass of the Priesthood and almost incredible prejudices of education among the Laity. More superstition is visible than in almost any other Roman Catholic Country. There is less, however, in the large Towns, than in the Country Villages. Yet, I saw the Ceremony performed in Madrid, on St. Antonio's day of carrying all the Mules & Asses of the City (decorated with a profusion of ribbons, fringes & ornaments) to Church to be blessed, & to

eat a consecrated Cake. The Royal Family assisted at this Ceremony. In the great fire which demolished the buildings of a whole square last summer Images & Priests were brought in procession to stop the conflagration and some of the pious People were not a little scandalized at the saying of the Compte Campomanes, that everything was good in its place, but then there was need of "Buckets & Water, instead of Saints & Processions." I have dwelt the more largely on minute circumstances & disconnected facts from the hope that some of them might meet indulgence from their novelty & others from their nature. I should have suppressed a proportion, at all events, had I not known how much you are disposed to attribute whatever trouble I may give by the perusal, to no improper motive. By receiving & comparing different accounts, from various Persons of the actual state of all the Countries in Europe, you will, in becoming the centre of political information for the U. S., be enabled to form a just judgment of the measures necessary to be adopted by them on every emergency.—I was informed by Mr. Carmichael, that Mr. Littlepage gave you a clear interesting & intelligent view of affairs in the North, in a letter written from Madrid last Summer, and sent at the same time with one written to you by the King of Poland in his own hand.

With Sentiments of the purest affection, & liveliest gratitude I have the honor to be

Your most obliged & Most devoted Servant,
D. HUMPHREYS.

The President of the U. S.¹

Col. Humphreys spent much time in observing the course of trade between the United States and Portugal and the methods by which it might be increased. In a letter to Mr. Jefferson on March 6, 1791, he gives some particulars of the extent of the commerce between the two nations since 1783.

The United States both on the score of economy and

¹ U. S. Archives, State Dept., Washington, D. C.

with a wish to keep from European connections, had appointed very few Consuls in its ports. There was at first no one in Portugal to look out for American interests, care for our sailors when in port, or guard them from extortion.

Mr. Henry Arnold Dohrman had for a long period befriended our American seamen without any compensation. He was finally granted by Congress a sum of money and appointed Agent for American traders with Portugal.

His office was then in charge of his brother, Mr. Jacob Dohrman, whose assistant was Mr. Jackson, an Englishman. Under their auspices "the vessels of the United States enjoy the privileges of the most favoured nation."

In his dispatches he mentions, as he had been instructed, various items of political import found in the various gazettes or brought by express, and posts, or gathered from private sources.

In this way the State Department learned of the peaceful settlement of the Nootka Sound difficulty by an agreement between the Spanish minister Compte de Blanca and Mr. Fitzherbert on December 27 and 28, 1790; of the raising of an army of one hundred thousand men for France under a resolution of Mirabeau in the National Assembly; of the capture and destruction of the Turkish fortress of Ismail by the army of Catherine II.; of Russia under Suwaroff;¹ of the proposed sending of a British fleet into the Baltic in the next campaign; and of the progress of the war between Tippoo Sahib, Sultan of Mysore, in India, and the British.

As living in an English hotel was not favourable to progress in the Portuguese language Col. Humphreys determined to spend some weeks at the pleasant village

¹ Ismail is a town and port, now in the Russian Province of Bessarabia. It is on the north bank of the Kilia branch of the Danube forty-eight miles from its mouth. It came into permanent possession of Russia in 1812. In 1885 its population was 33,084.

of Mafra twenty miles from Lisbon. Here was the Palace built by John I., in the earlier part of the Century, as a rival to the Escurial. It is seven hundred and seventy feet long, six hundred and ninety wide. It contains eight hundred and sixty rooms, with five thousand and two hundred windows.

There was also a large convent and "a considerable college."

Col. Humphreys with his letters of introduction from the Papal Nuncio, the Secretary of the Academy of Arts and Sciences, and others, expected to make great progress in learning Portuguese and pass his time agreeably with the Professors of the College and other intelligent people that frequented the village.

The letters of Col. Humphreys announcing his arrival in Portugal, his reception by Chevalier de Pinto and raising the question of the rank of the American resident, caused considerable debate in the Cabinet and Congress. It was evident that the advantages to be gained by a compliance with the desire was sufficient to overbalance the rule for foreign representatives which was then formulated but which Mr. Jefferson afterward elaborated into a memorandum for the Senate Committee, of which Mr. Strong was Chairman, when the nominations of Mr. Thomas Pinckney for England and Mr. Gouverneur for France were under consideration in January, 1792.

After stating in this paper that on the present occasion particularly as the Senate had to decide on the fitness of certain persons to act for the United States at certain Courts they would be better enabled to decide, if they were informed of the state of our affairs at those Courts, and what we had to do there, the Secretary declared:

"there were two principles, which decided on the Courts, viz., (1) *vicinage*; and (2) *commerce*; that the first operated in the

cases of London and Madrid, and the second in the same cases, and also in those of France and Portugal; perhaps, also of Holland: that as to all other countries, our commerce and connections were too unimportant to call for the exchange of diplomatic residents.”¹

His opinion was that we should adopt for each country the lowest grade admissible. When the President and Cabinet finally decided that the courtesy should be extended to Portugal of a minister of equal rank to that sent from “her most Faithful Majesty,” a special message was drawn up and sent by the President to the Senate on Friday, February 18, 1791, in which the facts were stated, and Col. Humphreys nominated as “Minister Resident from the United States to her most Faithful Majesty, the Queen of Portugal.”

Friday, February 18, 1791.

GENTLEMEN OF THE SENATE:—

The aspect of affairs in Europe during the last summer, and especially between Spain, and England, gave reason to expect, a favorable occasion for pressing to accomodation the unsettled matters between them, and us. Mr. Carmichael, our chargé des affaires, at Madrid, having been long absent from his country, great changes having taken place in our circumstances and sentiments during that interval, it was thought expedient to send some person in a private character, fully acquainted with the present state of things here, to be the bearer of written and confidential instructions to him, and at the same time to possess him in full and frequent conversations, of all those details of facts, and topics of argument, which could not be conveyed in writing; but which would be necessary to enable him to meet the reasonings of that Court with advantage.

Colonel David Humphreys was therefore sent for these purposes.

¹ Jefferson's *Works*, ix., pp. 420-423.

An additional motive for this confidential mission, arose in the same quarter. The Court of Lisbon had, on several occasions, made the most amicable advance for cultivating friendship and intercourse with the United States. The exchange of a diplomatic character had been informally, but repeatedly, suggested on their part. It was our interest to meet this nation in its friendly dispositions, and to concur in the exchange proposed. But my wish was at the same time, that the character to be exchanged should be of the lowest and most economical grade. To this it was known that certain rules, of long standing at that court, would produce obstacles. Colonel Humphreys was charged with dispatches to the Prime Minister of Portugal, and with instructions to endeavor to arrange this to our views. It happened, however, that previous to his arrival at Lisbon, the Queen had appointed a minister *resident* to the United States. This embarrassment seems to have rendered the difficulty completely insurmountable. The Minister of that Court, in his conferences with Colonel Humphreys professing every wish to accomodate, yet expresses his regrets that circumstances do not permit them to concur in the grade of chargé d' affaires, a grade of little privilege, or respectability, by the rules of their court, and held in so low estimation with them, that no proper character would accept it, to go abroad. In a letter to the Secretary of State he expresses the same sentiments, and announces the appointment, on their part, of a minister *resident* to the United States and the pleasure with which the Queen will receive one from us at her court. A copy of letter and also of Colonel Humphreys's, giving the details of this transaction, will be delivered to you.

On consideration of all circumstances, I have determined to accede to the desire of the court of Lisbon, in the article of grade.

I am aware that the consequences will not end here, and that this is not the only instance in which a like charge may be pressed. But should it be necessary to yield elsewhere also, I shall think it a less evil than to disgust a government so friendly and so interesting to us as that of Portugal.

Humphreys Appointed Minister to Portugal 95

I do not mean that the change of grade shall render the mission more expensive.

I have, therefore, nominated David Humphreys, Minister resident from the United States to Her Most Faithful Majesty the Queen of Portugal.

G^o WASHINGTON.

Ordered, that this message lie for consideration.

Monday, February 21, 1791.

The Senate proceeded to the consideration of the message from the President of the United States, of the 18th instant, and the nomination therein contained, of David Humphreys, to be Minister resident from the United States to Her Most Faithful Majesty the Queen of Portugal; and, Resolved—that the Senate, advise and consent to his appointment accordingly.

Ordered, That the Secretary communicate this resolution of Senate to the President of the United States.¹

This action was gratifying to the President and the large number of the new minister's friends. The methods of confirmation here served for a precedent in the Senate. As soon as a vessel was ready to sail for Lisbon Mr. Jefferson sent an official notice to Colonel Humphreys and such instructions as were necessary.

This was the first appointment by the United States of a foreign minister under the Constitution. Mr. Short at the Hague and Mr. Carmichael at Madrid being only Chargé des Affaires.

This message is important as setting forth principles upon which the diplomatic service was conducted for many years. A slavish adherence to it in after times resulted in our representatives being treated sometimes with contempt, at others with equally irritating condescension, by other members of the Diplomatic Corps, in the countries to which they were accredited, who failed to

¹ *Journal of Congress*, 1791. American State Papers.

understand how tenacious of precedent the United States is in all its official relations with foreign powers. It is actually only within recent years that we have been forced to raise our Representative to the Court of St. James to the rank of Ambassador. Mr. Jefferson's apology in his *Memorandum* says "that circumstances had obliged us to change the grade at Lisbon to Minister Resident . . . but that no change was made in the salary, that of Resident being made the same as had been established for a chargé des affaires."¹

At Lisbon there was the additional reason "that we had to try to obtain a right of sending flour there," as the Chevalier del Pinto had formerly been in favour of it.

The message deserves to be read by this generation as showing the attitude of the fathers of the County in all matters concerning our foreign relations.

PHILADELPHIA, Mar. 15, 1791.

DEAR SIR:—

Your letters No. 1 to 6, from England No. 7, 8, from Lisbon & No. 9 from Madrid are all received.

The president has nominated you minister Resident for the U. S. of America at the court of Lisbon which was approved by the Senate. You will consequently receive herewith your Commission, a letter of credence to the Queen, sealed, and an open copy of it for your own information, & a letter to Mons de Pinto her Secretary for Foreign affaires. Your salary is fixed at four thousand and five hundred dollars a year, and an Outfit equal to a year's salary. Besides this you will be allowed your disbursements for any gazettes you think proper to be transmitted here, translating & printing papers where that shall be necessary, postage, carriers, & necessary aids to poor American sailors unless the latter article should be provided

¹ *Memorandum.* Jefferson's *Works*. ix., pp. 421, 422.

for by the laws of Portugal as has been said. I state these things particularly that you may be under no doubt as to what you may charge & what you may not charge to the public. I expect from the Secretary of the Treasury, in time to go with this letter, information how you are to be furnished with these sums of money. You will be pleased annually to state your account on the 1st day of July, to the end of the preceeding day, & To send it to me by the first conveyance afterwards to enable me to make up a general account of the foreign fund in time to be laid before Congress at their meetings. We shall name a Consul for the Port of Lisbon as soon as a proper native shall occur.

The title of the book you desired is the "Privileges of an Englishman in the Kingdom & Dominions of Portugal contained in the treaty of Oliver Cromwell" etc., in Portugese and English. Sold at Portugal Coffee house in Swithin's alley 1736, 8 vo. I enclose you the copy of a navigation act proposed in the late Congress but which lies over to the next as their time being up on the 3d of March they were obliged to postpone everything which would admit of it. It will be taken up at the meeting of the next which will be on the 4th Monday of October. This act perfectly innocent as to other nations, is strictly just as to the English, cannot be parried by them & if adopted by other nations would inevitably defeat their navigation act & reduce their power on the sea within safer limits. It is indeed extremely to be desired that other nations adopt it.

I send copies of it to Mr. Carmichael. Could these three countries agree to concur in such a measure, it would soon be fatally felt by the navy of England.

Nobody can better judge of its effect than our Mr. Pinto, to whom I would wish you to communicate it, & see whether he would not think it expedient for Portugal. I enclose you a letter for Mr. Carmichael, which being of importance, I wish you could find a safe private conveyance for it. We have no letter from him since you left this. You will also receive by this conveyance the newspapers to the Present date. The President sets out within a day or two for the Southern

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States, and will probably not return till June. We are now in hourly hope of receiving another letter from you dated from Madrid.

With great & sincere esteem, Dear Sir,

Your most obed & most humble servt.

TH. JEFFERSON.

P.S. Mar. 18. It is just now arranged with the Treasury that they shall give the department of state a credit with their bankers at Amsterdam of the whole sum allowed in that department annually which, therefore, will be subject in their hands to my orders. I will consequently write by the first vessel to Amsterdam, to Mess. Willinks, Van Staphorts and Hubard to answer your draughts for any balance due on your agency counted from Aug. 11, to Feb. 21, D 2250 D. per annum also your outfit 4500 Dol & your salary as Resident from Feb. 21, quarterly or monthly as you please. As there is not at this moment a vessel bound for Amsterdam, and your draughts might arrive before my order, you had better draw at a longer sight.

P.P.S. Mar. 19, I have this day remitted bills to Willinks, Staphorts, & Hubard & informed them you will draw on them at first for between 5 & 6000 Dol & afterwards for your Salary as it admits which they are instructed to pay.

PHILADELPHIA, Apr. 11, 1791.

DEAR SIR,

I wrote you Mar 15th with postscripts of the 18th & 19th. Since that, yours of Jan 3 No. 10; Jan 15 No. 11; from Madrid, and Feb. 6, No. 12; Feb. 13, No. 13 from Lisbon are received. They covered a letter from Mr. Carmichael, the only one we have had from him of later date than May 1789. You know that my letter to him of which you were the bearer took notice of the intermission of his correspondence, and the one enclosed to him in my letter to you of March 15th, being written when this intermission was felt still stronger, as having continued so much longer, conveyed stronger marks of dissatisfaction.

Though his letter now received convinces us he has been active in procuring intelligence yet it does not appear that he has been equally assiduous in procuring means of conveyance which was the more incumbent on him in proportion as the government was more jealous and watchful. Still, however, I wish him to receive the letter now enclosed for him herein as it softens what had been harder said and shows a disposition rather to look forward than backward.

I hope you will receive it in time to forward with the other; it contains important matter, pressing on him, as I wish to do on you, & have done on Mr. Short to engage your respective Courts in a *co-operation in our Navigation Act. Procure us all the information possible as to the strength, riches, resources, lights, and dispositions of Brazil. The jealousy of the court of Lisbon on this subject will of course inspire you with due caution in making and communicating these enquiries.* The acts¹ of the three sessions of Congress, and Feno's papers from April 1790 were sent you with my last, you will now receive the continuation of Feno's paper. I send for Mr. Carmichael also laws and newspapers, in hopes you may find some means of conveying them to him. I must sometimes avail myself of your channel to write to him till we shall have a consul at Cadiz. I have the honor to be with great esteem,

Dear Sir,

Your most obed & humble Servt.

TH. JEFFERSON.²

¹ The Gazette of the United States was established in New York City, April 11, 1789. It followed the Congress to Philadelphia when that City was made the Capital. Its first Philadelphia issue was April 14, 1791, and it contained during its early years a full account of the Proceedings of Congress, and many public documents. It became intensely federalistic in its opinions, and had great influence for many years. After many changes in form and a temporary one in name, the Gazette was purchased by Messrs. Graham, McMichael, and Bird, in 1847, projectors of the *North American* and merged with that Paper. The *North American* is still an influential Philadelphia paper.

² U. S. Archives, State Dept., Washington, D. C.

The part in this letter which is given in italics is in the original in cypher.

PHILADELPHIA, Apr. 11, 1791.

(Private)

DEAR SIR,

There has been published at Madrid by some bishops who had been to Mexico & found there an original collection of the letters of Corteza a book containing those letters. I do not know how it happened that I did not ask the favour of you to procure this book for me. I now supply the omission and add a request to procure also "La historis del arimante D. Christoval Colomb," by Fernando Colomb, his son, in Spanish, or Ulloa; translation of it into Italian, or Catalan; translation into French, or all three of them—I am in hopes there are such communications between Madrid & Lisbon as to enable you to get them for me. I have received Mr. Bulkeley's letter & samples of wine. The Ferms & Torres are exactly what I had in view. As it will not be time to order wines over till the hot months are past, I shall in July inclose them an order and a bill of exchange for a juice of the oldest Ferms they can procure this being the most approved of the six qualities they sent me.

This will be in time for the wine to be shipped in September, as I shall probably send to them annually, I will add to my bills of exchange for them any little disbursements for the books or other things I may trouble you for; I am with great esteem,

Dear Sir,
Your friend & Servant,
TH. JEFFERSON.¹

The President by the same conveyance sent his old friend a brief account of the state of affairs at that time.

PHILADELPHIA, March 16, 1791.

MY DEAR SIR:—

As this letter is wholly of a private nature, I refer you to Mr. Jefferson's official communications for everything relative to your appointment at the Court of Lisbon, &c. and shall confine myself to acknowledging your two letters; viz: one from London, of October 31, and the other from Lisbon, of November 30, 1790; and to such general observations as may occur in the course of my writing.

¹ U. S. Archives, State Dept., Washington, D. C.

The desponding account of our public affairs which you mention to have been transmitted to Europe, by a person high in office here, are happily contradicted by facts too stubborn to be overturned, and altho' it is to be regretted that such gloomy relations should be given by a man, who, it may be supposed, is perfectly acquainted with our political situation, yet there is some pleasure in knowing that his better half has asserted things quite contrary.

The remarks of a foreign Count are such as do no credit to his judgment, and as little to his heart. They are the superficial observations of a few months residence, and an insult to the inhabitants of a country where he has received much more attention and civility than he seems to merit.

It gives me pleasure to hear Mr. Paine is likely to proceed with his bridge, and Rumsey in his ingenious projects.

Congress finished their session the 3d inst., in the course of which they received and granted the applications of Kentucky and Vermont for admission into the Union; the former after August, '92, and the latter immediately. They made provision for the interest on the national debt, by laying a higher duty than that which heretofore existed on spirituous liquors imported or manufactured. They established a national bank. They passed a law for certain measures to be taken towards establishing a mint; and finished much other business of less importance; conducting on all occasions, with great harmony and cordiality. In some few instances, particularly for passing the law for higher duties mentioned above, and more especially on the subject of the bank, the line between the Eastern and Southern interest appeared more strongly marked than could have been wished; the former against, and the latter in favor of those measures. But the debates were conducted with temper and candour.

The Convention between Spain and England seems once more to have composed the European powers, except the Empress and the Turks; and the Emperor appears to have settled matters pretty thoroughly in his dominions. Of the state of things in France we can form no just idea, so various and contradictory are our accounts thence but we most

devoutly wish a speedy and happy termination of the struggle which has for some time past convulsed that kingdom.

Peace and tranquility pervade the territory of the United States, except on the N. W. side of the Ohio where the frequent depredations of the Indians made it necessary to form an expedition against them last fall; but that has not been productive of the consequences which are expected from it. The Indians still continue their hostilities, and measures are now taking to convince them (if they do not see the folly of their way before they can be carried into effect), that the arm of the United States is as much to be dreaded as their friendship is to be desired.

Our public credit is restored; our resources are increasing; and the general appearance of things at least equals the most sanguine expectation that was formed of the effects of the present government.

I am about to set out, to-morrow or next day, on a tour through the Southern States. I am under the necessity of commencing my journey with very bad roads, in order that I may take such advantage of the season as to be leaving the southern extremity before the travelling shall be rendered disagreeable, and perhaps dangerous by the heat.

I expect to return to this city in the latter end of June or early in July. Since the rising of Congress I have been, and shall be till my departure, very busily engaged in making such arrangements with the several departments as will enable me to be absent for several months without interrupting public business. And if I have not said everything in this letter that I intended, or that you might expect, it must be imputed to the hurry of the moment. But at any rate there is one thing I must not omit, which is to tell you that I am very sincerely,

Your affectionate friend,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

* This letter as prepared for publication by Colonel Humphreys will be found in his *Miscellaneous Works*, edition of 1804, pp. 383, 384. The above version is, however, taken from the original in the Congressional Library, Washington, D. C. That published by Colonel Humphreys is very different and incomplete.

CHAPTER VI

Humphreys at Lisbon

Importance of the U. S. Having Consular Agents at Lisbon—Growth of American Commerce—Recommends Appointment of Messrs. Dohrman and Harrison as Consul and Vice-Consul—Acknowledges Receipt of News of his Appointment as Minister to the Court of Lisbon—His Letter to Washington—And the Secretary of State—In Letter to Washington of May 12, 1791, Alludes to the Bulkeleys—Humphreys' Cordial Reception as Minister at Court—Instructions from Jefferson to Thomas Barclay in Regard to Algerine Pirates—Details to Humphreys' European Discrimination against American Products—Humphreys Keeps Jefferson Posted on European Politics—Jefferson Sends Statement Showing Condition of American Prisoners of the Algerine Pirates—And of Steps Taken for their Release—Arrival of Thomas Barclay at Lisbon.

WITHOUT news from America and ignorant of his appointment as Resident Minister, Col. Humphreys remained at Mafra from which place he wrote on March 31st, to acknowledge a packet of American letters with news as late as February 10th, but without acknowledgement of his dispatches to the Secretary. As he fears they may have miscarried he recapitulates their numbers and modes of conveyance. He encloses an extract from an *Almanac* in which Mr. Dohrman and Mr. Harrison are styled Consul-General and Vice-Consul of the United States. He sees no reason why they should not hold these offices. As the commerce with Portugal is growing and

important it requires the services of men capable and energetic to enlarge it. "Eighty-five American vessels were in Lisbon harbour last year," which was more than any other nation had excepting England. There had been very few during the present year. Drought was prevailing all throughout Portugal. Prayers for rain were offered in all the churches.

For the son of a New England divine it was a strange and interesting sight to see the processions of priests in their gorgeous vestments with acolytes bearing crosses, banners, and candles, followed by the people chanting their litanies.

He was then studying the language of the country and informing himself on every point connected with its politics, commerce, and literature. He had formed pleasant relations with several of the professors in the College. In order to send "early and authentic knowledge" to the United States he read diligently the *Courier de l'Europe*, and other papers received at the Convent.

In a letter of April 8th, he mentions the excitement occasioned by the flight to Rome of the aunts of Louis XVI., and the intemperate discussion of that act in the National Assembly. The three ladies had been detained at Arnay le Duc until advice was obtained. There were apprehensions that "Monsieur" would seek occasion to leave Paris. But he solemnly pledged a delegation which visited the Luxembourg that he would not go. A mob had destroyed the Castle of Vincennes. The city gates had been barred.

From this recital it will be seen the affairs of Europe were far from being settled.

At last the news reached Col. Humphreys of his appointment as Minister Resident. He thereupon sent this letter to the President which for brevity and sentiment might serve as a model for epistles of thanks.

(*Private*)

MAFRA, May 3d, 1791.

MY DEAR SIR,

I write this short letter for the sole purpose of thanking you for nominating & appointing me Minister Resident at this Court. The language of affection & gratitude is brief. It is with a sensibility not expressed in words, that all the instances of your friendship & particularly the kind expression in the close of your letter of March 16th. are indelibly impressed on the heart of,

Your sincerest & most grateful friend,

D. HUMPHREYS.

P.S. I Pray you to remember me to Mrs. Washington & the family with those tender sentiments of attachment, which you know I entertain for them.

D. H.

The President of the United States.¹

On the same day he wrote a more formal note of acknowledgement to Mr. Jefferson.

MAFRA, May 3d, 1791.

SIR:—

The day before yesterday Mr. Bulkeley forwarded to me by Express the Dispatch you did me the honor to address to me on the 15th of March, together with the several Papers that accompanied it.

In assuming the duties of Minister Resident for the U. S. of America at the Court of Lisbon, I can only rely on my own zeal & the candour of those who are concerned in administering the Government of my Country and permit me to add Sir, it is a peculiar felicity that my communications are to be made through an Office entrusted to a Person from whose Instruction & Indulgence, I know, I have everything to hope.

I shall make arrangements for presenting my Letter of Credence to the Queen without loss of time.

¹ U. S. Archives, State Dept., Washington, D. C.

The several articles in your letter will meet with due attention.

A Messenger who left Lisbon at 1 o'clock this morning, has brought me the English Papers which will be herewith forwarded to you.

By the same Messenger, I received a letter from Mr. Dohrman, which I have answered this moment. Copies of both I transmit, in order that Instructions may be obtained. I transmit also a List of Arrivals sent to me by Mr. Harrison.

I likewise enclose a Duplicate of my last letter; the Duplicate in a direct conveyance, will probably reach you sooner than the Original, which has gone by way of England.

I am extremely obliged by your attention in sending me a complete set of the Laws, together with the entire series of the Gazette of the United States. Scarcely anything could have been more useful nothing more acceptable.

With every feeling of regard & esteem,

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your most obedient & Most humble Servant,

D. HUMPHREYS.

The Secretary of State.

P.S. I shall write in a few days, to you & Mr. Lear. The moderation of the Empress of Russia's demands, in opposition to vague Reports, is evinced by the Prescript contained in one of the enclosed Papers.

The new minister returned to Lisbon in the early part of May. He was received with congratulations by all his newly made friends and especially by the few persons there from the United States. One of his earliest acts was to command to the President the acting Consul and Vice-Consul.

This letter is further interesting as it makes mention of the Bulkeleys, into whose family the Colonel was shortly to marry.

(Secret)

LISBON, May 12th, 1791.

MY DEAR SIR,

Lest my letters to the Secretary of State on the Persons executing the Duties of the Consulate here, should have been so inexplicit as to leave your mind in doubt respecting the merits or pretensions, of those persons, I take the liberty to add a few facts; not because I feel myself interested in the decision but because I wish to remove embarrassments from your mind.—

The family of the Dohrmans ought certainly to be considered by the Americans as having great merit for their conduct in time of the war & since.—Mr. Jacob Dohrman does not seem much to expect an appointment, but earnestly wishes that Mr. Harrison may be appointed as Vice-Consul, untill some native of America shall be named. Mr. Dohrman is very desirous to obtain a share in the consignment business if possible.

Mr. Samuel Harrison has for some years past done all the business of the American Consulate in this Port, and I believe to very good acceptance; I have had occasion lately to employ him in one way or another a good deal myself; and I have found him, so far as I am able to form a judgment, active, faithful & intelligent in business. I should conceive him very competent to act as *Vice-Consul* until, & even after, some American shall be established as Consul here. Indeed, this will now, of course, be the case until orders may be received to the contrary.

Mr. John Bulkeley is my very good friend. He has taken uncommon pains to show civilities to me, & continues to do the same. On every occasion evincing his politeness, hospitality, & disposition to serve me. He is one of the wealthiest Merchants of the Factory & a man well versed in business. I understand he has applied for the American Consulship. Indeed, he has intimated the same to me, & produced to my view a letter from Mr. Thomas Russel, of Boston, in answer to one from himself on the subject.

Mr. Bulkeley has made a principal part of his fortune in the American Trade, and from a desire of extending his connec-

tions in it, has doubtless been useful to other Americans, as well as to me.—I conceive him to be a good Englishman & a true Merchant in heart.—In the time of the war, he conducted in general prudently, not, however (as I have understood) without being concerned in an English Privateer.

Truth, & the interest of the Republic are my only objects. I write at the desire of no Person nor with the knowledge of anyone.—For I have no possible interest in the matter, nor the remotest bias to an option distinct from what may comport with the public weal.

With Sentiments of the purest esteem & respect,

I have the honor to be,

My dear Sir,

Your devoted Servant,

D. HUMPHREYS.

P.S. At St. Ubes, Bellem, Etc. it will be necessary for somebody or another to act in behalf of our citizens. At the former is a Mr. Bush, a Hambourgoise, now acting. At the latter, a Portuguese by the name of Bouventura Joze Morera, who is Vice-Consul for, at least, half a Dozen Nations.¹

In a dispatch to Mr. Jefferson of May 21, 1791, he says:

Every day discovers fresh proofs of enterprise and resources flattering to the character of our country. A few days ago when the Captains of American ships in this Harbour wished to demonstrate their satisfaction at the appointment of a Resident from the United States to this Court, I found a ship of more than 700 tons (the largest merchantman here) firing a federal salute and ornamented with the flags of the American Union. This ship I learned on inquiry belongs to a foreigner and is employed in Trade to the Baltic with American papers and Captain *because the premium of Insurance and expense of navigation are cheaper than they would be under other colours.*

It was a pleasure for the Colonel to find a Royal Academy of Sciences in Lisbon with members who had not

¹ U. S. Archives, State Dept., Washington, D. C.

forgotten the earlier achievements of the nation. Its President was the Duke of Alafones, an uncle of the Queen. On the night before the Colonel was presented at Court

he had the honour of partaking of a collation with his Dutchess and many ladies of the first families; at the Palace in which the meetings of the Royal Academy of Sciences are held. The Duke is president of the Academy and had just presided, in presence of the company, which supped with him, at an extraordinary session. This nobleman is perfectly elegant in his manners, and greatly beloved for the goodness of his heart. He has travelled throughout Europe, understands English and French and is the protector of arts and sciences in the Kingdom.

In the course of conversation with Col. Humphreys, he said:

Young as your nation is it advances in improvements *with the step of a giant*. It is not a compliment to tell you so. I say what I mean, for it ill becomes one of the House of Braganza to flatter as it does a citizen of the United States to be flattered.

On the following day, May 22nd, the newly appointed Minister Resident was formally presented to the Queen by the Chevalier del Pinto. She received him most graciously and expressed her great interest in the United States.

Col. Humphreys in assuming his duties was aware that they were principally to maintain and increase the cordiality already existing, and to increase the commerce between the two countries.

In that pleasant portion of Lisbon on the elevated ground above the Tagus known as Buenos Ayres he engaged a handsome house which he furnished with much taste and care. He immediately began to entertain and soon made it a centre for literary and social functions.

The Minister maintained a frequent correspondence with the Secretary of State in which he not only detailed his transactions as Minister, but added such facts as he could collect of occurrences elsewhere.

In May, 1791, the first official connection of the Minister to Portugal with the negotiations with the piratical Barbary States occurs.¹ In the instructions for Mr. Thomas Barclay of Philadelphia who was appointed special agent to the Emperor of Morocco "for the purpose of obtaining from the new Emperor a recognition of our treaty with his father," it is said that,

Lisbon being the most convenient port of correspondence between us and Morocco, sufficient authority will be given to Col. Humphreys, Resident of the United States at that place over funds in Amsterdam for the object of your missions. On him therefore you will draw for the sums herein allowed or such parts of them as shall be necessary. To that port too you had better proceed in the first vessel which shall be going there, as it is expected you will get a ready passage from thence to Morocco. On your arrival in Morocco sound your ground, and know how things stand at present. Your former voyage there having put you in possession of the characters—through whom this may be done, who may best be used for approaching the Emperor and effecting your purposes, you are left to use your own knowledge to the best advantage. The object being merely to obtain an acknowledgement of the Treaty we rely that you will be able to do this, giving very moderate presents. As the amount of these will be drawn in precedent on future similar repetitions of them, it becomes important. Our distance, our seclusion from the ancient world, its politics and usages, our agricultural occupations and habits, our poverty and lastly our determination to prefer war in cases to tribute under any form and to any people whatever, will furnish you with topics for opposing and refusing high, or dishonoring, pretensions to which may be added the advantages their people

¹ The treaty was negotiated, January, 1787.

will derive from the duties laid on whatever we extract from that country.—

Keep us regularly informed of your proceedings, and progress by writing to us particularly your conferences, either private or public, and the persons with whom they are held.— We think that Francisco Chiappe has merited well of the United States by his care of their peace and interests.

He has sent an account of disbursements for us amounting to 394 dollars. Do not recognize the account because we are unwilling by doing that to give him a colour for presenting larger ones hereafter, for expenses which it is impossible for us to scrutinize or control. Let him understand that our laws oppose the application of public money so informally; but in your presents, treat him handsomely so as not only to cover this demand, but go beyond it with a liberality which may fix him deeply in our interests. The place he holds near the Emperor renders his friendship peculiarly important. Let us have nothing further to do with his brothers or any other person.

The money which would make one good friend, divided among several will produce no attachment.—The Emperor has intimated that he expects an Ambassador from us. Let him understand that this may be a custom of the old world, but it is not ours; that we never sent an Ambassador to any Nation.—

You are allowed to be from the day of your departure till you return 116 2.3 dollars a month for your time and expenses, adding thereto your passage money & sea stores going and coming.—

Remain in your post till the 1st of April next and as much longer as shall be necessary to accomplish the object of your mission unless you should receive instructions from hence to the contrary.—With your commission you will receive a Letter to the Emperor of Morocco and a Letter to Col. Humphreys.

I have the honour to be with great esteem

Your most obedient & most humble Servant

TH. JEFFERSON.

THOMAS BARCLAY, Esq.

A private instruction which Mr. Barclay is to carry in his memory and not on paper, lest it should come into improper hands.

We rely that you will obtain the friendship of the new Emperor and his assurances that the Treaty shall be faithfully observed with as little expense as possible.

But the sum of ten thousand dollars is fixed as the limit which all your donations together are not to exceed.

May 13th. 1791.^x

Mr. Jefferson in his official letters praises the industry with which Col. Humphreys gathers and puts into readable shape the news and rumours of European affairs.

Some of the disabilities under which American commerce then laboured are pointed out in Mr. Jefferson's dispatch of June 23d.

PHILADELPHIA, June 23, 1791.

DEAR SIR:—

My last letters to you have been of April 11, and May 12, and I am now acknowledging the receipt of yours of Mar. 8, No. 13, 14; Mar. 1, No. 1; Apr. 8, No. 18; Apr. 30, No. 17; May 3, No. 18. As yet no native candidate such altogether as we would wish, has offered for the Consulate of Lisbon and as it is a distinguished place in our commerce, we are somewhat more difficult in that than in other appointments. Very considerable discouragements are recently established by France, Spain & England with respect to our commerce the first parts whale oil, tobacco & ships, the second as to corn & the third as to corn & ships. Should these regulations not be permanent, still they add to the proofs that too little reliance is to be on a steady & certain course of commerce with the countries of Europe to permit us to depend more on that than we cannot avoid—Our best interest would be to employ our principal labour in agriculture because to the profits of our labour which is dear this adds the profits of our hands which are

^x U. S. Archives, State Dept., Washington, D. C.

cheap. But the risk of having our prosperity on the fluctuating councils & caprice of others renders it wise in us to turn seriously to manufactures, and if Europe will not let us carry our provisions to their manufacturers we must endeavour to bring their manufacturers to our provisions. A very uncommon drought has prevailed thro' most of the states, so that our crops of wheat will be considerably shorter than common. Our public paper continues high, and the proofs that our credit is now the first in Europe are unequivocal. The Indians north of the Ohio have hitherto continued their little depredations, but we are in daily expectation of hearing the success of a first excursion to their towns, by a party of 7 or 800 infantry under Sergeant I. Scott. Two, or three, similar expeditions will follow successively under other officers, while a principal one is preparing to take place at a later season.

I thank you for your communication from Mr. Carmichael. His Letter of Jan 24 is still the only one we have from him. Until some surer means of hearing from Madrid can be devised I must beg of you to give us from time to time all the intelligence you can from that capital. The conveyance by the British packets is tolerably sure, when direct conveyance fail.

You will receive herewith a continuation of the newspapers for yourself, as also a letter and newspaper for Mr. Carmichael which I must beg the favour of you to convey as safely as you can. The President is expected here the beginning of the ensuing month, being arrived at Mt. Vernon on his return from his southern tour. I am with great, & sincere esteem,
Dear Sir,

Your most obedt & most humble Servt.

TH. JEFFERSON.¹

In his dispatch of August 22, 1791, Col. Humphreys encloses the decree of the States-General of Holland dated July 14th, and published on July 20, 1791, prohibiting the importation of tea by foreigners, and thus comments on the condition of Spain.

¹ U. S. Archives, State Dept., Washington, D. C.

Spain appears most agitated, it is said, though I can scarcely credit it, that there are 100,000 Frenchmen scattered through the Kingdom. That military preparations are making in some parts of it. All Spaniards are being recalled to join the militia.

He mentions that his servant, who had been for seven years in Portugal, and with him seven months, had received a summons to return.

His dispatches of August 31st, give a description of the various members of the diplomatic corps. He finds himself alone in sympathizing with the recent occurrences in France and the principles upon which he thought the Revolution there to be conducted.

His characterization of his colleagues is very apt. The length of time which it took for American dispatches to reach Lisbon is illustrated by the reply of Col. Humphreys to that of January 23rd, which told of the success of Gen. J. Morin Scott over the Western Indians, which is dated at Lisbon on September 10, 1791. He says that the various Continental and English Papers distorted and magnified the reports of the warfare with the Indians in order to discourage emigration.

Mr. Jefferson's letter of July 13th, gives a concise history of the unfortunate condition of the American officers and sailors in captivity in Algiers and the means which had been taken for their redemption.

PHILADELPHIA, July 13, 1791.

DEAR SIR:—

Mr. Barclay having been detailed longer than was expected you will receive this, as well as my letter of May 13, from him. Since the date of that I have received your No. 15, March 31; No. 16, Apr. 8; No. 17, Apr. 30; No. 18, May 3; and No. 20, May 21.

You are not unacquainted with the situation of our Captives at Algiers. Measures were taken, and were long depending

for their redemption. During the time of their dependence we thought it would forward our success to take no notice of the captives. They were maintained by the Spanish Consul, from whom applications for reimbursement, through Mr. Carmichael, often came; no answer of any kind was given. A certainty now that our measures for their redemption will not succeed renders it unnecessary for us to be so reserved on the subject, and to continue to wear the appearance of neglecting them. Though the Government might have agreed to ransom at the lowest price admitted with any Nation (as for instance that of the French order of Merci) they will not give anything like the price which has been lately declared to be the lowest by the Captors. It remains then for us to see what other means are practicable for their recovery. In the meantime, it is our desire that the disbursements hitherto made for their subsistence by the Spanish Consul or others be paid off and that their future comfortable subsistence be provided for. As to past disbursements, I must beg the favour of you to write to Mr. Carmichael that you are authorized to pay them off, and pray him to let you know their amount and to whom payments are due. With respect to future provision for the captives, I must put it into your hands. The impossibility of getting letters to or from Mr. Carmichael renders it improper for us to use that channel. As to the footing on which they are to be subsisted, the ration and clothing of a soldier would have been a good measure, were it possible to apply it to articles of food and clothing so extremely different as those used at Algiers. The allowance heretofore made them, by the Spanish Consul, might perhaps furnish a better rule, as we have it from themselves that they were then comfortably subsisted. Should you be led to correspond with them at all it had better be with Capt. O'Brien, who is a sensible man, and whose conduct since he has been there has been particularly meritorious. It will be better for you to avoid saying anything which may either encrease or lessen their hopes of ransom. I write to our Bankers to answer your draughts for these purposes and enclose you a duplicate to be forwarded with your first draught.

The prisoners are fourteen in number—their names and

qualities are as follows—Richard O'Brien & Isaac Stephens, Captain Andrew Montgomery & Alexander Forsyth, Mates; Jacob Tessanier, a French passenger, William Paterson, Philip Sloan, Peleg Sorin, John Robertson, James Hall, James Cathcart, George Smith, John Gregory, James Hermet, Seamen. They have been twenty-one or twenty-two. We are in hourly expectation of hearing the event of Genl. Scott's irruption into the Indian country at the head of between 7 & 800 mounted infantry. Perhaps, it may yet be known in time to communicate to you by this opportunity. Our Bank was filled with subscriptions the moment it was opened. Eight million of Dollars were the whole permitted to be subscribed, of which two million were deposited in cash, the residue to be public paper. Every other symptoms are equally favourable to our credit.

The President is returned from his Southern tour in good Health. You will receive herewith the newspapers up to the present date.

I have the honour to be with great esteem, Dear Sir,
Your most obedient & most humble Servt.

TH. JEFFERSON.

COLONEL HUMPHREYS.¹

The arrival of Mr. Barclay at Lisbon with dispatches was announced by Col. Humphreys on September 27, 1791.

The letter which Mr. Barclay had written to him from Philadelphia was never received. In his dispatch the Minister says he had declined a correspondence with Captain O'Brien and other Algerian captives as he knew "they would exhaust their vocabulary of denunciation and accusations of ingratitude of their country upon him and arouse his sympathies without any power on his part to help them."

The more attention paid to these unfortunate men would mean that a greater sum would be demanded for their ransom.

¹ U. S. Archives, State Dept., Washington, D. C.

Three separate inquiries had been made about it from Algiers.

Col. Humphreys had arranged satisfactorily through the Messrs. Bulkeley the method of making the draughts upon Holland. While unwilling to handle any of the public money excepting his due as there are "inconveniences, suspicions and vexations experienced by public servants accused of dishonesty," he will "do his best to have the business done in so clear a manner and with such vouchers as will tend to a speedy and definitive settlement."

CHAPTER VII

Humphreys at Lisbon

Tribute Levied on European Commerce by Algerine Pirates—English Flag Most Respected—American Colonists Reaped this Advantage—After Revolution American Flag Not Respected—Capture of Schooner *Mary* and Ship *Dauphin*—Negotiations for Release of Crew and Passengers—Thomas Barclay Appointed Special Agent to Morocco—Instructions Sent to Humphreys—Jefferson Details Course of Negotiations—Explains his Reasons for his Inaction—Expense of Maintaining a Frigate in Mediterranean Waters Pleaded—Humphreys Accepts Responsibility for Well-Being of Algerine Prisoners—His Growing Popularity at Court and with People of Lisbon—American Vessels Granted Every Privilege—Correspondence with Washington—Washington Describes his Southern Tour—And the Financial Prosperity of the New Nation—Letter from Jefferson—Gives Result of Census—And also Dwells on America's Prosperous Condition—Humphreys Forwards Complaints from O'Brien, the Spokesman for the Prisoners—He Bitterly Arraigns the Neglect of Prisoners by U. S.—Humphreys Assures him that their Well-Being Will be Looked after by him—Arrival of Barclay—Illness of Queen of Portugal—Letter from Jefferson Principally on Indian Affairs—Account of Spanish Commissioners of their Disbursements on Behalf of American Algerine Prisoners—Appointment by President of Messrs. Short and Carmichael as Commissioners Plenipotentiary to Madrid—Humphreys' Instructions in Regard to this Commission—Visit to Lisbon of Son of President Stiles—Humphreys' Correspondence with President Stiles.

INCREDIBLE as it may seem it is nevertheless true that for centuries the civilized world stood in fear of the half-civilized communities who lived on that narrow strip of the African coast of the Mediterranean known as the Barbary States.

The glory as we all know of redeeming Europe from this evil bondage rightly belongs to America. To David Humphreys belongs the honour of having effected the release of the American captives when other men had failed.

The boldness of the cruel and revengeful seamen of Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli paralysed the Mediterranean commerce. All had to pay them tribute. Nations who hesitated in paying were quickly reminded of their remissness. Ships sailing under their flag were captured and their crews tortured with the ingenuity and refinement of the eastern mind. To England alone, the Corsairs were inclined to be respectful.

After the partial destruction, and bombardment, of the capital of Algiers by the French fleet under Admiral Du Quesne in 1683, England had three years afterwards negotiated a favourable treaty which was several times renewed.

The possession of Gibraltar by England was a constant menace to the opposite coast, and the English fleet were ever ready to enforce the observance of these treaties.

It will be remembered that in 1704 the allied forces of the Dutch and English had invested the fortress by land and by sea under Sir George Rooke and Sir Cloudesley Shovel. After its surrender Sir George raised over it the Union Jack and claimed it for the English crown. The claim was frequently disputed, until the memorable siege of 1782, when the title of England was formally confirmed by the definitive Treaty of Paris, February, 1783.

Previous to the Revolution the Mediterranean trade of the Colonists had been a profitable and increasing one. From eighty to a hundred vessels were engaged in that commerce. When however the flag of Great Britain was replaced by that of the Stars and Stripes the vessels which

after the Revolution resumed that Trade were at first respected and some of them allowed to finish their voyages unmolested. This brief toleration was, however, ended when the schooner *Mary* of Boston was taken July 25, 1785, off Cape Vincent by an Algerine corsair, and its captain, Isaac Stevens, officers and crew were made prisoners.

On July 30th "about fifty leagues westward of Lisbon," the ship *Dauphin* of Philadelphia, Captain Richard O'Brien, was captured. Twenty-two Americans, with Mr. Jacob Tessonier, a Frenchman and passenger, were added to the mournful company who had lost hope and were held in slavery in Algiers.

When information of this reached the American commissioners in Paris, Mr. Jefferson proposed to Mr. Adams that they should personally be responsible for their ransom as soon as they had ascertained by a confidential messenger the lowest sum that would be accepted. They had no official power to enter into any negotiation on the matter. Mr. John Lambe who had brought dispatches from Congress to the Commissioners was sent to Algiers to learn the exact condition of affairs, and report. An agent had already been appointed to Morocco under the resolution of March 11, 1784, empowering the Commissioners to make Treaties of amity and commerce with the Barbary States. He received special instructions to ascertain the condition of the prisoners, learn the lowest ransom for them, and prepare a permanent treaty of commerce and peace with the Dey. While the agency to Morocco was successful, that of Mr. Lambe failed entirely to accomplish its purpose. The Dey demanded \$59,496 for the ransom and was disinclined to enter into any treaty. Mr. Jefferson in a report upon Mediterranean commerce made to Congress on December 28, 1790, while the nomination of Mr. Barclay as special agent to Morocco was pending,

gives in greater detail than in his letter to Humphreys the history of the negotiations with Algiers and the means taken for the comfort of the captives.¹

To the Colonel, many of the facts were already known as he had been Secretary of the Commission. In a report upon the redemption of the captives made at the same time Mr. Jefferson relates the facts of their capture, the various efforts to ransom them, the manner of their subsistence, and the harsh, but in his view, necessary, policy of ignoring their appeals while the negotiations through the Mathurins were in progress. He also in both reports considers the future policy of the United States whether a peace shall be purchased, at a large price, and the captives ransomed at a larger one or whether an armed force should compel their surrender. There had been in 1786 a proposal that the various powers of Europe and the United States should combine against the Barbary corsairs, and a "convention" of eleven articles had been drawn up to be adopted by those entering into the plan.

Portugal, Naples, the Two Sicilies, Venice, Denmark and Sweden approved. France seemed to favour it; Spain which had recently negotiated a treaty with Algiers was indisposed to accept it. The Congress of the United States considered it.

The expense of maintaining for that service a frigate and the plea of an empty Treasury was the ostensible reason for the rejection of the plan by the United States, though the plan itself had the compliment paid to it of being heartily approved. The real reason of the rejection was to be found in the stubborn adherence of Jefferson to his plan of appearing indifferent to the wrongs done American citizens, so that through that course he might purchase their relief more economically. A plan as cruel as it was futile and which ignominiously failed.

¹ Jefferson's *Works*, vii., pp. 519, 532.

Humphreys was made, fortunately enough, of different stuff. He accepted the responsibility for the well-being of the American prisoners in Algiers but in doing so never for one moment slighted his official duties as Minister to the Court of Lisbon. He was received at Court with many marks of distinction and soon won the esteem of the Queen and her ministers. While basking in the royal favour his polished manners made him a *persona grata* to his fellow members of the Diplomatic Corps; while his Republican regard for the welfare of the merchants and traders won for him the favour of the people of Lisbon.

His good offices were soon apparent. Our commerce with Portugal was growing, yet we had no formal treaty with the country. Notwithstanding this, our vessels were given every facility.

Adapt himself as he might to his new surroundings he longed for home. His chiefest solace was in letters from his staunch friend, the President. These letters have never received the attention due to them. In writing to Humphreys, Washington knew he was writing to a true friend. He could unbosom himself as he had never done to anyone else, safe in the certainty that his confidence would not be betrayed. Washington had many flatterers but few friends. Of his friends, none were so true as David Humphreys. To him he laid bare his plans personal and official, for the improvement of his own estates, and the advancement of the country of which he was the head. His trip to the South which he had commenced with misgivings turned out to be a pleasant one, and he gives the following account of it to his friend:

PHILADELPHIA, July 20, 1791.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have received your letters of the 16 of February and 3 of May and am much obliged by your observations on the situation, manners, customs and disposition of the Spanish

nation. In this age of free enquiry and enlightened reason it is to be hoped that the condition of the people in every Country will be bettered and the happiness of mankind promoted.

Spain appears to be so much behind the other nations of Europe in liberal policy that a long time will undoubtedly elapse before the people of that Kingdom can taste the sweets of liberty and enjoy the natural advantages of their country.

In my last I mentioned my intention of visiting the Southern States which I have since accomplished; and have the satisfaction to inform you that I performed a journey of 1887 miles without meeting with any interruption by sickness, bad weather, or any untoward accident. Indeed, so highly were we favoured that we arrived at each place where I proposed to make any halt, on the very day I fixed upon before we set out. The same horses performed the whole tour, and though much reduced in flesh, kept up their spirits to the last day.

I am much pleased that I have taken this journey as it has enabled me to see with my own eyes the situation of the country through which we travelled, and to learn more accurately the disposition of the people than I could have done by any information. The country appears to be in a very improving state, and industry and frugality are becoming much more fashionable than they have hitherto been there. Tranquillity reigns among the people, with that disposition towards the general government which is likely to preserve it.

They begin to feel the good effect of equal laws and equal protection. The farmer finds a ready market for his produce, and the merchant calculates with more certainty on his payments. Manufactures have as yet made but little progress in that part of the country, and it will probably be long before they are brought to that state to which they have already arrived in the middle and eastern parts of the Union.

Each day's experience of the government of the United States seems to conform its establishment, and render it more popular. Already, acquiescence in the laws, made under it, shews in a stronger light, the confidence which the people have

in their representatives, and in the upright views of those who administer the government. At the time of passing a law imposing a duty on home-made spirits, it was vehemently affirmed by many, that such a law could never be executed in the Southern States particularly in Virginia and North Carolina. As this law came into force only the first day of this month, little can be said of its effects from experience; but from the best information I could get on my journey respecting its operation on the minds of the people (and I took some pains to obtain information on this point) there remains no doubt but it will be carried into effect, not only without opposition but with general approbation in those very parts where it was foretold that it would never be submitted to by any one.

It is possible, however, and perhaps not improbable, that some Demagogue may start up, produce, and get signed some resolutions declaratory of their disapprobation of the measure.

Our public credit stands on that ground which, three years ago, it would have been considered as a species of insanity to have foretold. The astonishing rapidity with which the newly-instituted Bank was filled, gives an unexampled proof (here) of the resources of our countrymen, and their confidence in public measures. On the first day of opening the subscriptions, the whole number of shares (20,000 including the 5,000 subscribed on account of the United States were taken up in one hour, and application made for upwards of 4,000 shares more than were granted by the institution, besides many others that were coming in from different quarters.

For sometime past the western frontiers have been alarmed by depredations committed by some hostile tribes of Indians, but such measures are now in train as will, I presume, either bring them to sue for peace before a stroke is struck at them, or make them feel the effects of an enmity too sensibly to provoke it again unnecessarily; unless as is much suspected, they are countenanced, abetted and supported in their hostile views by the B——h.

Tho, I must, at the same time, confess I cannot see much prospect of living in tranquillity with them so long as a

spirit of land-jobbing prevails; and our frontier settlers entertain the opinion that there is not the same crime, (or indeed no crime at all,) in killing an Indian as in killing a white man.

You have been informed, of the spot fixed upon for the seat of government on the Potowmack, and I am now happy to add, that all matters between the Proprietors of the soil and the public are settled to the mutual satisfaction of the Parties; and that the business of laying out the city, the grounds for public buildings, walks, &c. is progressing under the inspection of Major L'Enfant with pleasing prospects.

Thus much for our American affairs. I wish I could only say as much in favour of circumstances in Europe. But our accounts from thence do not paint the situation of the inhabitants in very pleasing colours. One part exhibits war and devastation; another, preparations for war, a third, commotions; a fourth, direful apprehensions and, indeed there seems to be scarcely a nation enjoying uninterrupted, unapprehensive tranquillity.

The example of France, will undoubtedly have its effects on other kingdoms. Poland, by the public papers, appears to have made large and unexpected strides towards liberty; which, if true, reflect great honour on the present King, who seems to have been the principal promoter of the business. By the bye, I have never received any letter from Mr. Littlepage, or from the King of Poland, which you say Mr. Carmichael informed you were sent to me last summer.

I yesterday had Don Jaudenes, who was in this country with Mr. Gardoqui, and is now come over in a public character, presented to me, for the first time, by Mr. Jefferson. Colonel Ternant is expected here every day as Minister from France.

I am glad to learn that the air of Lisbon agrees so well with you. I sincerely hope that you may long—very long enjoy the blessings of health, accompanied with such other blessings as may contribute to your happiness. I have been in the enjoyment of very good health during my journey and have rather gained flesh upon it. Mrs. Washington desires her

best wishes may be presented to you; you are always assured of those of,

My dear Sir,

Your sincere and affectionate friend,
Go WASHINGTON.^x

The letters of Mr. Jefferson as we have noticed in this memoir were not bare official documents but presented a lively narrative of events political and social in America. Writing from Philadelphia on August 23, 1791, he laments the paucity of news; General Scott's success against the Indians would be mentioned by Mr. Barclay; the Census had for the first time been taken in 1790. Of it he says:

Nearly the whole of the states have now returned their census. I send you the result, which as far as founded on actual returns is written in black ink, & the numbers not actually returned, yet pretty well known are written in red ink. Making a very small allowance for omissions we are upwards of four millions; & we know in fact that the omissions have been very great. Our crop of wheat is very abundant, & of the best quality ever known. There has been an extraordinary draught, prevailing most to the North of this. The crop of Hay here is short & calamitously so further North. We have lately had the most copious rains, which will recover the Indian corn & tobacco. A spirit of gambling in the public paper has seized too many of our citizens. Commerce, manufactures, the arts & agriculture will suffer from it if not checked. Many are ruined by it, but I fear that ruin will be no more a correction in this case than common gambling.

We cannot immediately foresee how it will terminate.

Col. Ternant is arrived here as Minister plenipotentiary from France.

I shall soon be able to send you another newspaper written in a contrary spirit to that of Fenno. Freneau is come here to set up a National gazette, to be published twice a week, and

^x U. S. Archives, State Department, Washington, D. C.

on winning principles. The two papers will show you both sides of our politics.

Being about to set out for Virginia in a few days, it will probably be two months before I shall again have the pleasure of writing to you. The President will go to Mount Vernon within three or four weeks.

You will receive herewith your newspapers as usual & a parcel for Mr. Carmichael.

I am with great & sincere esteem Dear Sir,

Your most obedt & most humble servt.

TH. JEFFERSON.

P.S. Your favor of May 17th No. 19 is this moment received.¹

On October 16, 1791, Col. Humphreys sends a detailed account of the condition of Portugal describing with accuracy its chief industries, the increase of manufactures, particularly glass, hats and morocco leather. The exports of wine had nearly doubled. "Formerly from twenty-five to thirty thousand pipes of wine were exported to England, in the last year there were forty-eight thousand."

In his dispatch of October 28, 1791, he encloses an extract from a letter of Captain O'Brien in which that spokesman of his fellow captives complains of the neglect of the United States to ransom them, although he had written a letter to Washington to be laid before Congress. The American agents in Europe he thought should be authorized to redeem their countrymen at fifteen hundred dollars each, the former Dey had asked three thousand dollars. This was evidently a political move. "If anyone in Algiers had been in power to redeem them it would have been for a less sum than has hitherto been asked for our ransom." Mr. Lambe had agreed for sixteen thousand eight hundred sequins and promised to return with the

¹ U. S. Archives, State Dept., Washington, D. C.

money in four months but did not. One offer was made to Messrs. Bulkeley and Dominico of sixteen thousand two hundred and fifty-three sequins. Both were entered in the Regency Book, but probably would have no weight with the present Dey.

The failure of these attempts was seriously injuring the United States and a favourable opinion of it declining. "There were so many inquiries and such shuffling work." He thought that the ransom could be effected "by giving maritime stores and a few light cruisers to cost about one hundred thousand dollars. No peace can be secured with present negotiators who are the agents of the Marseilles Chamber of Commerce known to the Body Politick. The French will never help the United States to share the rich commerce of the Mediterranean." In his narrative Captain O'Brien continues to speak of his personal discomforts:

You must certainly think it hard times when an unfortunate captive is obliged to sell his chance of liberty to buy the necessities of life. You will understand me. He is a slave to the Regency taken at sea, expects his country will redeem him, and Jews on this chance advance him money. So that first redeemed, he is secondly the property of the Jew until the money advanced and interest thereon is paid.

Our Minister explains that he had quoted copiously so that Mr. Jefferson might have the latest news from Algiers.

In answering Capt. O'Brien, Colonel Humphreys assured him that food and clothing would be provided for the captives. He expressed his own sympathy with them and assured him he would not decline any possible efforts or attention on his part to afford them that comfort of which he knows they stand so much in need.

Mr. Barclay had finally been able to secure a passage to Africa by hiring a small boat to carry him to Tangier. He

met at Cadiz, Francisco Chiappi with a missive from the Emperor of Morocco which he transmitted to the Foreign Office. War now had been proclaimed between Sweden and Algiers. Portugal had sent two vessels to Gibraltar and seven or eight Swedish vessels had put into that port. On December 23, 1791, Col. Humphreys wrote again on the state of the country. It was difficult to obtain real information. While wealth was increasing agricultural products were diminishing. He draws an interesting parallel between Portugal and Brazil. He has heard nothing from Mr. Carmichael, but through the Portuguese Ambassador at the Court of Madrid he had learnt that the actual disposition and answers of that Court were more favourable in regard to the pending negotiations. An allusion was made in the French *Gazette* to the desire of the United States for a port at the mouth of the River. In the same letter he mentions that Mr. Barclay had put into Gibraltar, and in a brief dispatch of December 24, 1791, gives as the reason that "the wind blew so in the Straights that the Bay of Tangier could not be made."

On January 1, 1792, he mentions the outbreak between France and Sweden and considers that the greatest obstacle to the success of France were her finances and adverse exchange.

Exchange was then in favour of Portugal which was increasing her merchant and naval marine rapidly. There was a possibility of a trade in naval stores with the United States. Dealers in them should send price and so should provision merchants. He hoped that overtures would be made by the Portuguese government for a commercial treaty. There was no official interview upon the subject but it had formed the topic of several conversations with prominent individuals who were ready to approve such action.

In a dispatch of February 1, 1792, he alludes to the
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arrival of a French officer in the English packet, as a courier, for the French princes at Coblenz. "All hopes of making an impression in favour upon France depends upon the foreign powers."

The condition of the health of the Queen of Portugal was causing much anxiety. She was then with the Court at Salva Terra and seriously ill. On February 11, 1792, Col. Humphreys announced the insanity of the Queen of Portugal. The diplomatic corps attended daily to enquire after her health. She was universally beloved. Prayers were daily offered in the Churches, and the theatres were closed. He also mentions a satisfactory interview with the Duke d'Alafoens. On February 14, 1792, he sent notice that the Prince of Brazil had been proclaimed as Regent during the insanity of his mother.

A letter from Mr. Jefferson, dated Philadelphia, Nov. 29, 1791, gives an account of the Indian hostilities, and other news:

PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 29, 1791.

DEAR SIR:—

My last to you was Aug. 23, acknowledging the receipt of your Nos. 19, 21, 22. Since that I have received from 23 to 33 inclusive. In mine I informed you I was about setting out for Virginia & consequently should not write to you until my return. This opportunity by Capt. Dicks is the first since my return.

The party which had gone at the date of my last, against the Indians North of the Ohio were commanded by Gen. Wilkinson and were as successful as the first, having killed & taken about 80 persons, burnt some towns and lost, I believe, not a man. As yet, however, it has not produced peace. A very formidable insurrection of the negroes in French St. Domingo has taken place. Some 30 to 50,000 are said to be in arms. They have sent here for aids of military stores & provisions, which we furnish just so far as the French minister approves. Mr.

Hammond is arrived here as Minister plenipotentiary from Great Britain and we are about sending one to that court from hence. The Census particulars as to each part of every state is now in the press; if done in time for its conveyance, it shall be forwarded. The legislature have before them a bill for allowing one representative for every 30,000 persons, which has passed the Representatives and is now with the Senate. Some late enquiries into the state of our domestic manufactures on a large scale are under contemplation. As to the article of your letters. It was under consideration in the first instance, then it was submitted to the President to decide on the articles of account which should be allowed the foreign ministers in addition to their salary; & this article was excluded as everything was meant to be which was not in the particular enumeration I gave you. With respect to foreign newspapers I receive those of Amsterdam, France & London, so regularly & so early, that I will not trouble you for any of them; but I will thank you for those of Lisbon & Madrid, and in your letters to give me all the information you can of Spanish affairs as I have never yet received but one letter from Mr. Carmichael, which you I believe brought from Madrid. You will receive with this a pamphlet by Mr. Coxe in answer to Ld. Sheffield, Freneau's and Fenno's papers. I am with great & sincere esteem, Dr. Sir,

Your most obedient & most humble servt.

TH. JEFFERSON.^x

For many months in the earlier years of their imprisonment the Spanish Consul at Algiers had shown much kindness to the American captives and supplied them with food and clothing.

The Spanish Commissioners in the United States presented in December, 1791, an account of the Consul's disbursements for that purpose to Mr. Jefferson, who immediately wrote to Col. Humphreys:

^x U. S. Archives, State Dept., Washington, D. C.

PHILADELPHIA,
December 13th, 1791.

DEAR SIR:—

I enclose you the copy of a Letter received from Don Joseph de Viar one of his Catholic Majesty's commissioners here stating the claim of Don. Joseph Torino for a sum of money paid by the Comte d'Espilles for our captives at Algiers, and on account of our Commissioner Mr. Lamb who was sent there. You will be pleased to consider this as a part of the debt, which, in my letter of July 13th, of the present year, I desired you to settle and pay. You will of course ask information of Mr. Carmichael on the subject, as he is particularly acquainted with it, and pay immediately what shall appear to be due.

I am with great esteem, Dear Sir, Your most obedient & most Humble Servant,

TH. JEFFERSON.

COL. HUMPHREYS.¹

It was probably by the advice of the Secretary of State that they sent to the United States Minister at Lisbon on December 17th, the documents concerning these expenditures. Our minister was aware of this claim by letters from Algiers and was endeavouring to obtain particulars that he might arrange for its payment. It is an illustration of the uncertainty of the foreign mails that the packet of the Commissioners did not reach him until nearly ten months after its date.

LISBON, Nov. 26, 1792.

GENTLEMEN,

By some uncommon delay I only received a few days ago, by the same vessel that carries this letter, the papers which you did me the honour to enclose to me on the 17th of Decm. of last year. I lost no time in writing to Mr. Carmichael, that he would procure Don Joseph Torino to send his orders to receive

¹ U. S. Archives, State Dept., Washington, D. C.

the money due to him from the United States of America on account of advances made by the Compte d'Espilly for their Prisoners & Commissioners at Algiers. Be assured as soon as the requisite orders arrive the money shall be paid; and in the meantime that I embrace, with great satisfaction, the occasion of assuring you with how great consideration and esteem,

I have the honour to be, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient & Most humble Servant

D. HUMPHREYS.

The Hon'ble DON JOSEPH DE VIAR & DON JOSEPH DE JAUDENES, Commissioners of His Catholic Majesty to the U. S. of America.¹

The condition of affairs on the southwestern frontiers and the apparent exercise of undue influence over the Creeks and other Indians by Spain, gave to the President and Secretary much uneasiness. If Spain could, while there was outward harmony, and professions of goodwill between the United States and that country, be persuaded to grant the free navigation of the Mississippi, to determine the boundary between Louisiana and the United States, and restrain the Indians under their control, from attacking the settlers on the border of the river, it would tend not only to peace and harmony but also to increase of population in that section.

As the result of much deliberation, the President after explaining the reasons for his action, asked the approval of the Senate to his plan of a special commission to Spain which was given in January, 1792. He then promoted the Hon. William Short chargé des affaires at Paris to be resident at The Hague, and immediately appointed him with Mr. Carmichael as "joint Commissioners Plenipotentiary on the part of the United States, to treat with the Court of Madrid on the subject of the nava-

¹ From the collection of the Hon. James D. Dewell, New Haven, Conn.

tion of the Mississippi, arrangements of our limits and commerce."¹

In the same letter Mr. Jefferson says:

You will be the best judges whether to send your letters by Lisbon, Cadiz, or what other route; but we shall be anxious to hear from you as often as possible. If no safe conveyance occurs from Madrid to Lisbon, and your matter should be of sufficient importance to justify the expense, a Courier must be sent, but do not incur the expense unless it be to answer some good end.²

The Spanish commissioners were notified of their appointments on March 23, 1792.³

The Commissions were issued from the office of the Secretary of State on March 18, 1792.⁴

The efficiency with which Col. Humphreys had performed his duties is seen in making him the medium of communication with these special Commissioners.

While these matters were in progress at Philadelphia, our minister was carefully learning as much as he could about the country and supplementing his first impressions.

He had not forgotten the request of his friend the President of Yale College to inform him upon the literary condition of Portugal.

Dr. Stiles' son Isaac, who made many ocean voyages for the benefit of his health, was about to sail for Lisbon. Dr. Stiles says in his *Diary* on December 3, 1791:

I wrote & sent a Letter to Col. David Humphreys, Minister Resident from Congress to the Court of Portugal. Sent it by my son who sails for Lisbon in the Brig Nancy, Capt. Green.⁵

¹ Letter of the Secretary of State to Mr. William Short, Philadelphia, March 18, 1792. Jefferson's *Works*, iii., pp. 340, 341.

² Jefferson's *Works*, iii., p. 341.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 343.

⁴ Register of the Department of State, Washington, 1874.

⁵ *Diary of Dr. Ezra Stiles*, iii., p. 436.

During his brief stay in Lisbon the Colonel paid every attention to the invalid son of his friend, and showed him the attractions of the Portuguese capital. Mr. Stiles' father joyfully records on April 10, 1792:

Son Isaac returned to New Haven—Deo Gratias—By him I received a Letter dated Lisbon 14th Feby—from his Excell^y Col. Humphreys, ambassador from Congress, to the Court of Portugal, in which he gives me account of the State of Literature in Portugal.¹

LISBON, Febry. 14th, 1792.

DEAR SIR:—

I received with much satisfaction the letter you did me the honour to address to me on the 2nd. of Dec., and should have been happy to answer it by this opportunity with such precision as would have accomplished your wishes. But extraordinary avocations, occasioned by the late illness, and present mental derangement of the Queen of Portugal, have rendered it impossible for me to enter into any detail on a subject so interesting to the rising Generation, and general prosperity of our country. For some time past, the Diplomatic Corps have attended at the Palace every day to inquire concerning the Queen's health. I fear that there is but little prospect of her recovery. She is very much, and very deservedly, beloved by the people of this Kingdom. Her malady seems to be the result of a relaxation of the nervous system, and religious melancholy. Yesterday, official notice was given to the foreign Ministers, that his Royal Highness, The Prince of Brazil, has during the continuance of the incapacity of the Queen assumed the Regency. I must therefore content myself with this apology and the communication of the following general observations on the education of youth in Portugal for the present.

The University of Evora has long since been abolished. That of Coimbra has taken a new and better economy since

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 447.

the time of the late Marquis of Pombal. That Minister, notwithstanding he has been in some instances blamed for severity and in others maliciously calumniated for reforming abuses, rendered essential services to the Kingdom. The good effects of his plans begin to be clearly perceived in their influence on the Generation now coming on the stage of human action. He encouraged literature as well as useful arts; he caused an improved system of education in some respects to be adopted; he induced learned men to come from different parts of Europe to be Professors in the University; he deprived the Inquisition of the examination, and censure of Books; and he instituted one or two new Colleges, besides a great number of common schools throughout the Kingdom. He depressed the higher, and elevated the lower classes of people. To use a significant expression, he put one foot on the neck of the nobility, and the other on that of the clergy. He attempted and effected to a certain degree a change of circumstances. But, it will readily occur, the circumstances of the old countries in Europe are so different from those in our new one, that many things which might be useful in the former can be of little avail in the latter. Originally, and even until the time of the Marquis of Pombal, the mode of education in Portugal was truly monkish. It is undoubtedly much ameliorated, as is the condition of the country in general. But I apprehend we shall find few things in the system applicable to our stage of society, and political situation. On a future occasion, I expect to be able to send you the new statutes of the University of Coimbra, together with an account of the books read and course of Studies pursued in it. Application for which has already been made to the Rector. Had it not been for the Queen's illness, I contemplated to have made a visit to Coimbra about this time.

However, from what I have been able to learn from pretty good authority, the education here by private tuition is more useful, and complete than that of a public nature. The Royal Academy instituted a few years since under the patronage of the Queen, and the Presidency of the Duke of Alafoens (her uncle, and the Commander-in-Chief of the Army) is usefully employed in disseminating knowledge on economics, and in

publishing many old manuscripts and documents, serving to illustrate the History of the Country. The Duke is a liberal, well informed, excellent man, and very much a friend of the U. S. I am personally indebted to him for uncommon attentions and civilities. The Abbe Correa, the Secretary of the Academy, and the intimate friend of the Duke, is an enthusiast in favor of American literature, liberty and happiness. He is my very good and sincere friend. In wishing all manner of prosperity to yourself and the Institution under your auspices,

I have the honour to be, Dear Sir,

Your most obed^t. and very humble servant

D. HUMPHREYS.

THE REV. PRESIDENT STILES.^x

^x The original in the Library of Yale College, and endorsed: "Col. Humphreys" 1792. Received 10th. April 1792.

CHAPTER VIII

Correspondence between Humphreys and Jefferson

Change of Ministry in Spain—Trustworthy Character of Humphreys' Dispatches—Letters of Jefferson of April and July, 1792—Humphreys' Poem on National Industry of the United States—Sends it to Washington—His Description of the State of Portugal—The Good Government of the Late Marquis de Pombal—Degraded State of Portuguese Nobility—Good Effect of English Traders in Educating Portuguese Youth in Mercantile Pursuits—Condition of Rest of Europe—Proposes Attractive Inducements to be Given to German Soldiers to Emigrate to United States—Intemperance of Mr. Carmichael—President's Action in Regard to Release of Algerine Prisoners—Admiral Paul Jones Commissioned to Proceed to Dey of Algiers—Death of the Admiral—Portugal's Discrimination against American Flour—Jefferson's Account of Home Affairs—Proposes to Humphreys Retaliation on Portugal if she Persists in her Discrimination against American Flour—Announces his Approaching Retirement from Office—Humphreys' Letter of Acknowledgment—He Writes to Washington Offering his Services as Commissioner in the Algerine Matter.

BEFORE news of the appointment of the Commission to Spain reached Humphreys he wrote on March 6, 1792, announcing a change in the Spanish ministry:

Compte de Florida Blanca is out of office and Compte d'Armand appointed to succeed him. I heard Mr. Carmichael say that if Compte de Florida Blanca would not consent to the free navigation of the Mississippi he knew effectual measures might be used for relieving him from office.

The estimation placed upon Col. Humphreys' letters is shown by the use made of that of March 18, 1792. A rumour had reached Philadelphia through "Mr. Green a merchant now at New York" who "had received very late advices from Spain by way of the Spanish islands to this effect, that war with France was inevitable; their troops were marching from all quarters of the Kingdom to the frontiers and that fifty sail of the line had been commissioned." "This," says Jefferson, writing to the President on May 16, 1792,

was permitted to be mentioned to me, but for particular reasons to no other persons. I suppose the particular reasons were some mercantile speculations founded on the intelligence, perhaps, it may be used to buy up all our flour. We have London news from the 1st. of April and nothing of this is mentioned. I have a letter from Colonel Humphreys of March 18, which says nothing of it. I am in hopes therefore the only effect of it will be to get us a good price for our flour or fish.

Mr. Jefferson proceeds to make further quotations with evident approval of the manner in which the information is conveyed:

you will recollect that we had learned the death of the Emperor of Morocco, after a battle in which he was victorious. The brother opposed to him, it seems was killed in the same action, and the one, Muley Ismael, who had been so long in the sanctuary, is proclaimed Emperor. He was the best character of the three and is likely to be peaceable. This information is from Colonel Humphreys. The Queen of Portugal is still in the same state. Wyllys does not pronounce her incurable, though he says there is nothing which indicates the contrary.¹

In a letter of May 18, 1792, to the President he mentions that he had received since his note of the 16th, another

¹ Jefferson's *Works*, iii., pp. 356, 357.

letter from Col. Humphreys dated March 25, informing him that the Queen of Portugal was considerably better, and also mentioning the death of the Emperor of Germany. "What effect on Europe cannot be foreseen, the character of the successor being absolutely unknown. He is twenty-four years of age."¹

Mr. Jefferson's personal letters to the Minister at Lisbon combined both public fact and opinions upon measures then in progress whether in the country at large or in Congress. In that written on April 9, 1792, after mentioning the receipt of letters from Col. Humphreys and Mr. Barclay's receipt for the draft upon the Amsterdam bankers of the United States, he proceeds to say:

You have been before informed of the failure of our arms against the Indians the last year. Genl. St. Clair has now resigned that command.

We are raising our Western force to 5000 men. The stock-jobbing speculations have occupied some of our countrymen to such a degree as to give sincere uneasiness to those who would rather see their capitals employed in commerce, manufactures, business & agriculture. The failure of Mr. Duer, the chief of that description of people had already produced some other bankrupts & more are apprehended. He had obtained money from great numbers of small tradesmen & farmers, tempting them by usurious interest, which has made the distress very extensive.

Congress will adjourn a fortnight. The President negatived their representation bill, as framed on principles contrary to the constitution. I suppose another will be passed allowing simply a representative for every thirty or thirty-three thousand in each state. The troubles in the French island continue extreme. We have as yet heard of the arrival but of a few troops. There begins to be reason to apprehend the negroes will perhaps never be entirely reduced. A commission is

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 358, 359.

issued to Mr. Carmichael & Mr. Short to treat with the Court of Madrid on the subjects heretofore in negotiation between us. I suppose Mr. Short will be in Madrid by the last of May. We expect Majr. Pinckney here hourly on his way to London, as our Minister Plenipotentiary to that court. For a state of our transactions in general, I refer you to the newspapers which accompany this. I put under your cover, letters & newspapers for Mr. Carmichael & Mr. Barclay, which I pray you to contrive by some sure conveyances. We must make you for some time the common centre of our correspondence. I am with great & sincere esteem Dear Sir,

Your most obedt. & most humble servt.

TH. JEFFERSON.¹

Another letter written on July 12, 1792, touches upon several topics of interest:

PHILADELPHIA, July 12, 1792.

DEAR SIR:—

We have been very long indeed without any vessels going from this port to Lisbon. This is the reason why I have been so long without acknowledging the receipt of your letter. Your Nos. from 45 to 53 inclusive are received except No. 52, not yet come to hand. The President set out yesterday for Virginia & I shall follow him tomorrow, during my absence the public papers will be forwarded to you by every opportunity by Mr. Taylor, with whom this is left as we know of no present opportunity of forwarding it. The state of Vermont has lately taken some decisive steps to extend its jurisdiction nearer to the British posts than has hitherto been done. This has produced a complaint from Mr. Hammond. We shall endeavour to keep things quiet in hopes of voluntary justice from them. We shall probably have no campaign this year against the Indians.

There are some hopes they will accept of peace, & the rather as we have never asked anything in return for it. We really wish not to hurt them. I need not repeat occurrences which

¹ U. S. Archives, State Dept., Washington, D. C.

you will see in the Gazettes. I am with great & sincere esteem,
Dear Sir,

Your most obedt & most humble Servt.

TH. JEFFERSON.

COL. HUMPHREYS.^x

Col. Humphreys refrained from troubling the President with mere letters of friendship, knowing the manner in which his time was so taken up. But in the summer of 1792 events had taken place which he considered should be known to Washington, and he sent him a letter marked "secret and confidential" which is of sufficient weight to be read by those desirous of understanding the course of the negotiations between Spain and the United States, and the reasons why they were never brought to a successful issue:

(Secret and confidential)

LISBON, July 23d. 1792.

MY DEAR SIR:—

I take the liberty of writing to you again after a considerable interval, to assure you there can be *none* in my sentiments of affection & gratitude to you. At the same time, I enclose a Manuscript "Poem on the National Industry of the U. S.," which after you shall have done with it, should it be so fortunate as to meet your approbation, I pray that you will hand to Mr. Lear, that he may have it printed according to the desire expressed in my letter to him by this conveyance. As far as I can judge of my own heart, I conceived myself to have been animated by love of Country in writing the Poem. I own I have received pleasure in composing, however others may or not in perusing it, for it is not for me to decide how I have succeeded in the execution. I have endeavoured to polish the versification as highly as in anything I have before written. The conceptions are mostly the result of observation. And the sentiments, I know, are such as comport perfectly well with

^x U. S. Archives, State Dept., Washington, D. C.

patriotism & good morals. I wish never to write anything but what is friendly to the cause of Humanity. I was glad to have an occasion of speaking well of the Polish new Constitution. The Characters I think are all just & particularly that of the Queen of Portugal, who cannot now be flattered by it. The contrast between the former & present character of the Portuguese; and the pernicious effects of Idleness visible here, & in Spain suggested several of the ideas. But for this fact I question whether I should ever have written on the subject. How far that want of exertion among the People of those Countries is to be attributed to their Governments I will not now pretend to say. The Portuguese (with whom I am most acquainted) were once a gallant & glorious Nation; and even now appear capable of being moulded into a very respectable form. The natural advantages of this Country are much greater than its actual moral and political state would authorize one to conclude. But from the jealousy of the Government and the arbitrary nature of the Police, it is difficult to obtain true informations, as you will judge from the fact. Soon after my arrival I endeavoured by all justifiable means to get some insight into the real state of the Country. For this purpose, I have written questions to a few Persons, from whom I desired, in the paper itself, such answers as might be perfectly discreet, & not improper in any point of view. One copy of my questions has been translated into Portuguese by Jacob Dohrman, our acting Consul, & put into the hands of a foreigner (but an inhabitant here) whom I had no knowledge of, nor had ever seen. By some means the police came to the knowledge of what this Person had written on the present state of Portugal. He was taken up, put on board a vessel & sent to France, where he has made a complaint of the treatment to the National Assembly. Another Person concerned with him in the matter, was apprehended & confined several weeks in Prison here. I was told by a Gentleman who was present, the intendant, on seeing the Papers said, "the Questions were those of a man of sense & very proper to be asked by a Person in public Character . . . but that these people had been too free in some of their observations."

If I were better informed, the limits of a letter would allow me to give but a very imperfect particular Idea of the moral political & economical state of the Kingdom. A short paragraph may however serve to give a general Idea as well as a long Dissertation. An unlimited monarchy, a foolish Prince Regent, a weak Administration, an ignorant Laity, a bigotted Clergy & an existing inquisition are not able to prevent the prosperity of the Country. If left to itself what must it then be? or what must have been the progress, if the late Prince of Brazil had lived to come to the Throne; and if he could have been aided by as able a Minister as the late Marquis of Pombal was, "But the ways of Heaven are dark & intricate." Providence knows its own design best.

Of the late Prince, I have on good authority heard so many facts, which indicated wisdom, & a tender regard for the happiness of the lowest of mankind, that I have little doubt he would of his own accord have assembled the long neglected Cortes & adopted a Constitution as favorable to liberty at least, as that of Poland. Having learned to understand English by his own Industry, he read many of the political works in the language. He expressed on many occasions the most manly & liberal sentiments with respect to Government. He was free from pride, & affected reserve. And from his affability and condescension he was the delight of all who approached him. There is scarcely any man in the Kingdom who has any knowledge of, or has ever conversed with the present Prince. He appears to me to want sense. What he is, or may come to be we know not. There is little except his filial affection, that augurs very well. The late Marquis of Pombal was indeed a great Man & an able Minister. As a public Character his virtues & faults were all in extreme, for he had nothing of mediocrity about him. He had everything to do. He began with things at the right end, for he put one foot on the neck of the Clergy, & the other on the Neck of the Nobility. And there he held them until the death of the King whom he served when he was dismissed, retired to his estate & underwent a kind of tryal from the influence of his enemies. But he had the King's written mandate for everything he did, so that his conduct

stood unimpeachable. He died as he lived haughty, independent & laughing at all his enemies could say of him. But the seeds of improvements he sowed in almost every department are not yet dead. They are now bringing forth fruits, in spite of all the attempts of subsequent Ministers to root them up. This, his enemies, to whom he was always severe probably sometimes cruel & unjust, begin to allow, and I consider him with all his imperfections on his head (which were neither few nor small) as a Minister who has done more good to his Country than any other in Europe since the time of the immortal Sully.

Notwithstanding the Prince of Brazil's character is known to so little advantage, & the Queen's natural goodness of heart is so evident: I believe her malady was upon the whole a fortunate event to the Kingdom. Just before her incapacity was declared, the Priests were gaining such an ascendancy as gave thinking people the most gloomy apprehensions. Had not that event taken place, it is asserted on pretty good authority, there would have been an Auto da Fe even so near the close of the 18th Century. The poor free Masons & some little offenders were sadly persecuted. And now that there are subjects accused of atrocious crimes in the view of the Religion of the Country I question whether any thing will be done. There are now a number of Young Gentlemen of good family students of the University of Coimbra put into the Inquisition, for breaking into a nunnery & committing other rash Actions. In the articles I enumerated as impeding the natural & inevitable prosperity of the Kingdom, I did not mention the Nobility, because I meant to bestow a moment's notice on them. The Marquis of Pombal found them poor, proud and servile, but treacherous to such a degree that he could not employ them in offices of confidence. He gave the command of the Army and of the Provinces to foreigners, for he knew in the last short war between Portugal & Spain the Nobility would willingly have sacrificed the Country, for the sake of sacrificing him. For other offices he chose all young men, & mostly from the middle class; he could not depend on those of rank, or advanced in age for the least thing. So low in Spirit were the Commis-

sioned & even field Officers of the Army regarded, when the Compte de Sippe took command of the Army that it was no uncommon thing for them to be Servants in Noblemen's families and occasionally attend as such at Table.

To overcome prejudice & prepare the then rising Generation for future utility, the Marquis improved the University of Coimbra by liberal Institutions, he induced a number of learned foreigners to become professors in it, and he established a great number of schools throughout the Kingdom. Most of the Nobility & others now coming on the stage of life have profitted by these Institutions. My former letters to the Secretary of State have announced great liberality of Individuals. Still the Nobility (I speak of the generality for there are among them some honorable exceptions) are by no means so good as they ought to be, though far less despicable than they were. Too many of them are still, insolent to their inferiors, involved in debts, and cringing at Court to such a degree of baseness as is absolutely incredible. They literally perform the offices of menial Servants, & in addition to their common knee Service in offering anything to the Royal hands they consider it as an infinite honor to be permitted to play Cards with the Royal Personage, though they are obliged to do it by remaining the whole time on their knees. They will learn better; the Nation in general are by nature docile, intelligent, patient & capable of improvement. There is a middle Class from which much is to be expected. Men in business are growing rich fast, & consequently of some weight & importance in the State. Foreigners have unintentionally taught them this. It is an undubitable fact, that the Merchants of the English & other Factories have, by taking Portuguese Youths into their Counting houses as Clerks taught the Portuguese (within 20 years past) to do almost all their own mercantile business. But a few years ago there was scarcely one commercial Portuguese House. Now several merchants of that Nation have made princely fortunes. Much of the private business of the Country and all the public Contracts (formerly given to foreigners) have come into their hands. While the business of the foreign Factories has considerably declined.

This Country is not however ripe for any great or sudden Revolution, or for enjoying total Liberty. Yet I see among all the Young People particularly in the Navy, the same Anglo-Mania, the same rage for imitating the English which in France preceded the Revolution. Many foreign Officers in this Service have told me, no better subjects for Soldiers ever existed than the Portuguese. It will be the Policy of the Government to remain quiet, & to take no part in the measures which agitate almost all Europe.

The storm seems louring over Poland & France more than ever. The combination against Liberty is truly formidable. But I trust a good Providence will defeat it. The King of Prussia with 60,000 well appointed Troops is certainly on his march against the French. I have this day written to our Minister at Paris to the Marquis la Fayette & to the Duke de Rochefoucault a project for diminishing the German Armies which may enter France. It is by defraying at the National charge the expense of the passage to the U. S. of such Persons belonging to those Armies as shall choose to transfer themselves to settle there.

I believe the plan to be feasible & economical. It is so far at least not chimerical that Addresses may be published & facilities given for the execution of the measure without expense or risque. It will be fairly turning the weapon of Deser-tion against the Enemy. The experiment can cost nothing. And, perhaps the very design being known to the Austrian & Prussian Cabinets may have some influence in deterring them from sending their Armies into France. If any good comes of it, I will solace myself with the conscious pleasure of having first made the suggestion. Lord St. Helens, the British Ambassador at Madrid, having been here a few days ago on his way to England I was induced to make enquiries of him respecting the actual situation of Mr. Carmichael's health & spirits? He informed me with frankness yet in a delicate manner that he considered Mr. Carmichael on many accounts as an amiable & valuable Man; but that his health is ruined & (what is worse) he has addicted himself entirely to hard drink-ing. Lord St. Helens added these words, "His breath smells

as strong, even in a morning, of spirituous Liquor as any Sailor's I ever met with." Disagreeable as the task is, a sense of duty obliges me to mention the circumstances precisely as it came to my knowledge; because it seemed necessary for the public good that you should know it. I never saw the Person in question intoxicated in my life. It is true he suffered miserably from depression of spirits. I was, however, in hopes the return of health, business & amusement would give new energy to those talents which appeared to be very capable of rendering service to the U. S. in the field where they are employed; but which seemed to have languished a long time merely for want of notice & having something to do. This letter is of such a nature, that I shall destroy the Copy for fear of its falling into improper hands & I beg leave to suggest to your discretion whether it may not be expedient to do the same with the original?

I entreat in all events my best Compliments may be presented to Mrs. Washington & the family; and that you will be assured, My dear Sir, that I am with every sentiment of attachment

Your most affectionate Friend & Obliged Servant,
D. HUMPHREYS.

The President of the U. S.¹

The poem which accompanied the letter was undoubtedly read and admired at Mount Vernon. It had the same intense and unsullied patriotism as the other poems of the author, the same appeals to his countrymen to put forth all their exertions, and to be as successful in the arts of peace as they had been skilful in war, and closed with an apostrophe to the dear land from which he was now separated.

The poem was not published until the fall of 1794.²

¹ U. S. Archives, State Dept., Washington, D. C.

² *A Poem on Industry—Addressed to the Citizens of the United States.*
By Colonel David Humphreys, Minister Resident at the Court of Lisbon.
Philadelphia: Printed for Matthew Carey, No. 118 Market Street, October
14, 1794.

While some of the stanzas may be found in the poem on *Love of Country* and the same line of thought is followed in the poem on *The Industry of the United States*, which seems to have been finished in 1802, the author did not think fit to include it in the final revision of his works published in 1804. It attained popularity and was republished in 1796.¹ In a letter to Mrs. Greene, the wife of General Greene, Col. Humphreys gives some verses which are not, we believe, found included in his printed works.

LISBON, June 20, 1792.

If it was as easy for me, my good friend, to write, as it is to converse, sometimes, I would give you a long kind of conversation letter, which might tend to bring to our recollections the remembrance of old times.

But I frankly acknowledge that I am good for nothing at the pen. So I mean to use it only to assure you that I have received with great satisfaction your letter of the 19th of Decr last; that I shall ever rejoice most sincerely in your health & happiness; and that I enjoy a pretty good share of both myself.

Knowing the fortitude you always carry with you, and the vivacity which commonly attends you "in all your wanderings round this world of care"; I cannot but realize that you have a resource in yourself which most of your Sex would have wanted in your situation. I have wished that I could have been a kind of Guardian Genius at your elbow to have assisted in all your adventures & perplexities. But fate has separated us by a world of waters, & who can contend with fate?

While you have been wandering from the torrid to the frigid zone, and back again, I also have had my peregrinations by Sea & Land. Of all these I wrote a tolerably humorous account to my friend Trumbull (of Hartford) . . . but what was more in the Character of one of your wicked wits, I never sent it. And now ten to one, but that the wit is lost to all eternity.

Notwithstanding I have lanquished for the want of that

¹ In a volume of "Select Pamphlets," Philadelphia: Matthew Carey, 1796.

Society which is most dear to me; I have endeavoured to keep my spirits in as cheerful a tone as I could. I have occupied my leisure hours since I have been here in writing a Comedy, a Poem & the Lord knows what. The Comedy, if you take my word for it, is an excellent one. At least there is the character of such a wife as I do not expect to come across in all my life; Though I have not put her in jeopardy of being burned like my poor Widow of Malabar, I have put her (if possible) in a situation more interesting & affecting. I have written the Play on purpose to make Mrs. Stuart & you laugh & cry; as I am certain you will do when you come to read it. But no more of that now.

Since I have been stationary here, I have found many circumstances of climate & situation, sufficiently agreeable . . . you shall judge from what I have said of them in the Poem I just now alluded to

“In thee, sweet Clime! so healthful, genial, calm,
The clouds drop fatness and the air is balm;
Fair on thy coast th’ enamour’d ocean smiles;
And wafts the fragrance of the western Isles;
For thee fair Suns, with double harvests, shine,
Thine nature’s gifts, profuser blessings thine:
Thine the broad Tagus! fam’d by bards of old,
For waves of amber, and for sands of gold;
Flow, freighted Tagus! flow to meet the Sea,
Which refluent pours Brazilian wealth on thee;
Thy Port for Trade, for Produce form’d thy Soil,
Ask but a Pombal and the arm of toil
To make thee great.”

Then comes the description of a most beautiful prospect about 20 miles from Lisbon. . . . The description of the coolness & fragrance of this village is not founded in poetic fiction but in reality. In the very hottest part of Summer, one never suffers the least from heat at Cintra.

.
“The fragrant shades of Cintra’s citron groves,

To rural Monserat I quick repair,
When the red Day-Star sheds solstitial glare.
There living water all the mountain laves,
Plays o'er the plain, or sleeps in gelid caves;
There no dry shrub, there no deciduous flow'r,
Marks in sad pomp the year's expiring hour;
The dark-green branch, perennial foliage yields,
On myrtle mountain, and in olive field.

There tropic trees, spontaneous, cheer the waste,
With mellow fruits that melt upon the taste;
There shells of milk—nectareous beverage! strew'd,
There trees of bread with life sustaining load;
There the young palm, banana, lemon, lime,
'Mid older growths aspire to earlier prime.

Prolific Suns the varied year unfold,
Groves decked in blooms with vegetable gold;
Celestial odours breathe in roseate bow'rs,
Gay fruitage mix'd with families of flowers
As burning gems depend in many a row,
In many a cluster crimson cherries glow.

The blushing peach, the plum of glossy blue,
The yellowish pear, the nectarine's tempting hue,
Pale figs with red pomegranates there embrace
Apples of gold and grapes of purple grace.

Involv'd in clouds of sweets, that load the gales,
And love to linger in thy spicy vales.

Delightful Cintra! . . . hide thy votary soon,
In cool recesses from the Sun of noon.

Reclin'd ev'n there, beneath refreshing Skies,
Still for my natal Land new longings rise;
Remembrance goads this form, by seas confin'd,
While all my Country rushes on my mind.

Rous'd at the name . . . I feel the patriot heat,
Burn in my bosom, in my pulses beat,
And wake unutterable thoughts. My lyre,
Though tortures for expression tear thy wire,

The still fond wish remains, as it began,
'Heav'n made that Land the blest retreat of Man.'"

To which patriotic wishes, I will only add the personal ones, with which I am, in great sincerity,

Your friend & Hble Servt.,
D. HUMPHREYS.

MRS. GREENE.¹

While Humphreys was thus spending his few intervals of leisure from graver duties, the Government in Philadelphia was almost daily besought to exert its powerful influence for the release of the Americans in Algiers. The President sent on May 8, 1792, a message to Congress asking whether it would be acceptable to Congress if he should agree to pay the sum of forty thousand dollars for the captives' ransom, twenty-five thousand as a gift to the Dey for a treaty of peace and an annual payment of twenty-five thousand dollars during the continuance of the treaty.²

Upon their favourable response he commissioned, with the consent of the Senate, Admiral John Paul Jones to proceed to Algiers, and negotiate with the Dey for both objects.

His instructions were drawn up by Jefferson and included a concise account of previous attempts and what was supposed to be the condition of affairs in Algiers at that time. They were taken to England by Major Thomas Pinckney when he went to assume the office of American Minister to the Court of London.³ Upon his arrival in England he learned that the dashing and intrepid commander had died in Paris July 18, 1792, and been accorded the honour of a public funeral attended by a large delegation from the National Assembly.⁴

¹ In the possession of the Author.

² *American State Papers, Foreign Affairs*, vol. i., p. 136.

³ For these instructions see Jefferson's *Works*, iii., pp. 431, 439. They are dated Philadelphia, June 1, 1792.

⁴ *Life of Gouverneur Morris*, i., pp. 377, 378, note. By Jared Sparks, Boston: Published by Grey & Bowen, 1832.

As a matter of precaution it was considered well to entrust to Major Pinckney a letter to Mr. Barclay from Mr. Jefferson empowering him to act as Commissioner to Algiers in the event of any accident to Admiral Jones.

I have thought it best in such an event, that Mr. Pinckney should forward to you all the papers addressed to Admiral Jones with this letter signed by myself giving you authority on receipt of those papers to consider them addressed to you, and to proceed under them in every respect as if your name stood in each of them in the place of that of John Paul Jones. You will of course finish the business of your mission to Morocco with all the dispatch practicable, and then proceed to Algiers.^x

In all the various plans for the relief of the prisoners, Col. Humphreys was considered an essential factor as Lisbon was a necessary point of departure for Africa, and the Minister had always shown the ability to command intelligence fresh and accurate and obtain couriers, expresses, conveyances, and vessels, when others had failed.

Mr. Barclay had in vain endeavoured to fulfil his mission to Morocco. The war for the succession to the Imperial throne was in progress and until its termination he could not effect his purpose of securing the ratification of the treaty with the United States. He spent much of his time with Col. Humphreys at Lisbon, where he also made other friends.

He visited Gibraltar and Cadiz, and patiently waited for the opportunity to proceed to his destination. Mr. Pinckney could not for some months after reaching London forward the Algerine papers to Mr. Barclay. When they arrived he made preparations to sail for Algiers but was taken ill and died at Lisbon on January 19, 1793.

^x Jefferson's *Works*, iii., pp. 440, 441. This letter is dated Philadelphia, June 11, 1792.

This seriously embarrassed the American Government, and left the negotiation in a very unsatisfactory condition.

But while the issue of the Algerine affair was still unknown Col. Humphreys was confronted with a condition in Portuguese commercial transactions which would effectually discriminate against the United States. It was proposed to give the whole trade in corn with Portugal to Naples. Upon this in his reply, Mr. Jefferson comments and also gives several items of American news.

PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 6, 1792.

DEAR SIR:

We have never known so long an interval during which there has not been a single vessel going to Lisbon. Hence it is that I am so late in acknowledging the receipt of your letters from No. 54 to 58 inclusive and that I am obliged to do it by the way of London & consequently cannot send you the newspapers as usual.

The summer has been chiefly past in endeavouring to bring the North Western Indians to peace and in preparing for a vigorous summer, if peace should not be made. As yet no symptoms of it appear on their part . . . in the meantime there is danger of a war being kindled up on our South Western frontiers by the Indians in that quarter, excited, as we have reason to believe by some Spanish Officers; We trust that it has not been with the authority of their government.

To counterbalance these evils, we have had the blessing of another plentiful harvest of the principal grains. Tobacco & Indian corn have suffered from the early frosts. We have very earnest demands for supplies of grain from Marseilles; but the Algerine cruisers are an impediment. Would it be practicable for you, without awaiting a general treaty to obtain permission for our *flour* to be carried to Portugal? Nothing is more demonstrable than that this restriction is highly injurious to Portugal as well as to us.

Congress assembled yesterday. The President will meet them to-day and I will inclose you a copy of his speech whereby

you will see what chief objects (which) will be under their consideration during the present session.

Your newspapers shall be sent by the very first vessel bound to Lisbon directly: I am with sentiments of great & sincere esteem Dear Sir,

Your most obedt & most humble servt.

TH. JEFFERSON.

Nov. 7. P.S. After writing this letter your No. 59 came to hand. It seems then that, so far from giving new liberties to our corn trade, Portugal contemplates the prohibition of it, by giving that trade exclusively to Naples. What would she say should we give our wine trade exclusive to France & Spain. It is well known that far the greatest proportion of the wine we consume is from Portugal & its dependencies, and it must be foreseen that from the natural increase of population in these states, the demand will become equal to the uttermost abilities of Portugal to supply, every last foot of land shall be put into culture. Can a wise statesman seriously think of risking such a prospect as this? To me it seems incredible, and if the fact be so, I have no doubt you will interpose your opposition with the minister developing to him all the consequences which such a measure could have on the happiness of the two nations. He should reflect that nothing but habit has produced in this country a preference of their wines, over the superior wines of France, and that if once that habit is interrupted by an absolute prohibition it will never be recovered.

Two days later in a private and confidential letter he announces his intention of retiring from office on March 4, 1793.

(Private)

PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 8, 1793.

DEAR SIR:

You were not unapprised of the reluctance with which I came into my present office, & I came into it with a deter-

• U. S. Archives, State Dept., Washington, D. C.

mination to quit it as soon as decency would permit. Nor was it long before I fixed on the termination of our first federal cycle of a year as the proper moment. That moment is now approaching and is to me as land was to Columbus in his first American voyage.

The object of this private letter is to desire that your future public letters may be addressed to the Secretary of State by title and not by name, until you know who he will be, otherwise, your letters arriving here after the 3d of March, would incur the expense, delay and risk of travelling 600 miles by post after their arrival here. I may, perhaps, take the liberty of sometimes troubling you with a line from my retirement and shall be ever happy to hear from you and to give you every proof of the sincere esteem and respect with which I have the honor to be, Dear Sir,

Your affectionate friend & Servt,

TH. JEFFERSON.

P. S. We yesterday received information of the conclusion of peace with the Wabash & Illinois Indians. This forms a broad separation between the Northern & Southern war-tribes.

COL. HUMPHREYS.^x

Col. Humphreys in his answer, written from Lisbon on January 8, 1793, says:

LISBON, Janry 1793.

MY DEAR SIR:

Although I was well acquainted with your reluctance to come into the office you hold, having seen the letters which passed on the subject; yet, I cannot avoid being much distressed by your determination to quit it so soon.

I entertained hopes that a desire to assist the President in the execution of his important office, together with some other motives resulting from a consciousness of your abilities & disposition to render service to your Country, would have

^x U. S. Archives, State Dept., Washington, D. C.

withheld you from your favorite retirement at least a few years longer. Since you have judged otherwise, be assured, my dear Sir, my best wishes & real friendship will attend you to the domestic & philosophic walks of life.

I will not say how much I envy the situation of those who are competent to retire from the noise & jarrings of the great world at a reasonably early hour. But I will say, that the strong feelings I possess in favor of my Country and its Government are every day heightened by what I see or hear in other Countries. If I was a true Republican, when I left America, I flatter myself, I shall not become the less so by my absence from it. However I study most earnestly to avoid giving offence to the Government or People where I reside. And for the purpose the virtues of silence are uncommonly necessary.

I have attended to your intimation respecting the admission of our flour, & I can only promise that zeal on my part in attempting to promote the interests of the U. S. shall not be wanting.

This country affords little curious for your amusement but in case I may find anything, I apprehend, will contribute towards it, I shall take a particular pleasure in the communication. And in all events shall be extremely happy to hear from you whenever your leisure will permit. In sincerely wishing that your successor in office may be as useful to the Public, as acceptable to the President and as friendly to myself as I have ever found you; I conclude by offering the heartful homage & esteem & respect with which I have the honour to be My dear Sir

Your most obedient & Most humble Servant
D. HUMPHREYS.

MR. JEFFERSON
etc. etc. etc.

P. S. If I can be any ways useful to you while abroad or whenever I may return home, I beg you will command my services with unlimited confidence of being cheerfully obeyed.^x

^x U. S. Archives, State Dept., Washington, D. C.

A letter of Mr. Jefferson's, written at the same time, is of interest:

PHILADELPHIA, Jan. 3, 1793.

DEAR SIR,

My last to you was of the 6th of November, since then the papers have been duly forwarded to you by every opportunity from my office, as Mr. Taylor assures me to whom I am obliged to confide that duty. Your last received was No. 59, as acknowledged in mine. With the present you will receive newspapers for yourself, Mr. Carmichael & Mr. Short whom we expect by this time to be at Madrid: also half a dozen plans of the city of Washington in the district of Columbia to be displayed wherever they will be most likely to be seen by that class of people who might be attracted to it. Congress is in session as you will see by the papers, which will give you the details of their proceedings. The Western Indians have proposed to meet us in the Spring in the neighborhood of Sandusky to treat of peace. The result is far from certain. The late election of President, & Vice-President has given us the former unanimously, the latter by a great majority. We have now been a considerable time without hearing from Mr. Barclay, & shall always be glad to be informed by you on this subject, as he may be in a situation not to find means of conveying letters to us. We are anxious to know too whether the monopoly of grain mentioned in your letter threatens to take place. No wonder that we hear nothing of the Minister of Portugal, wheat has been in great demand there lately. The price has been consequently high and will be so again. The French West Indies become more and more dependent on us for subsistence. There is at present, some glimmering of hope that the efforts of the free inhabitants will be directed with more efficacy to the reduction of the common enemy. However, we are far from certainty on that subject,—referring you for details on these subjects to the papers which accompany this, I am with great & sincere esteem Dear Sir,

Your most obedt and most humble servt,

TH. JEFFERSON.¹

¹ U. S. Archives, State Dept., Washington, D. C.

The Colonel's early dispatches for 1793 deal with the death of Mr. Barclay, the commerce of Portugal and the United States, and his efforts to remove the unjust discrimination against American corn. He also gave details as far as known of the terrible events taking place in Paris and the murder of the King.

Annoyed and irritated beyond measure at the miserable management of the Algerine matters Humphreys writes confidentially to the President and proposes that the conduct of the negotiations should now be entrusted to him. There is little doubt since Mr. Jefferson was to be no longer in office, as Secretary of State, that Humphreys felt that there would now be an opportunity for him to carry out his own views and that the release of the captives could be accomplished and that with credit to the United States. His intelligence revolted at the utter mismanagement of the whole matter and his patriotism was wounded to think that the United States should so neglect the prime importance of protecting its subjects.

It must be remembered that, hitherto, all that Jefferson had entrusted to his management was the looking after the feeding and clothing of the prisoners. This Humphreys had done so effectually that no further complaints were heard on that score from Capt. O'Brien.

(Private & confidential)

GIBRALTAR, Feb. 8th 1793.

MY DEAR SIR:—

An easterly wind having suddenly sprung up, I am obliged to leave this in an hour for the Port of Lagos, (not very distant from Lisbon) or run the risque of being detained here several weeks or even perhaps Months. For information I beg leave to refer you to my two last public letters, of equal date to the Secretary of State.

My design in writing this is only to suggest two hints to be taken into consideration, or laid aside without ceremony, as

occasion may require. The first is whether you would chuse to make use of Mr. Church (who is certainly on his way from Bordeaux to Lisbon) in the Morocco business. This is merely in confidence, & lest no Person should occur.

The second suggestion is, that (if you can find no other person but myself to undertake the affair which was first committed to Admiral Jones & eventually to Mr. Barclay) I will attempt the execution of the temporary Commission—And this upon the condition of having all the expenses merely borne by the public, and of having some Person sent by you, or employed by me, to do the writing & keep the accounts. For I had rather not accept, or even resign my appointment than be obliged to have public monies & perplexed accounts in my hands. I am determined never to be reproached for having in my possession public monies un-accounted for.

I speak of the expenses of the voyage &c. being defrayed because I shall be obliged to be at nearly the same expense at Lisbon for House, Horse & Servants, as if I remained there. You know me sufficiently to be persuaded that I should not be profuse in the expenditure. And I now wish it to be understood, that I should only expect some trifling acknowledgement of the extra Service, by way of honorary Present in case of success.

After all, I declare, in the sincerity of my Soul I propose myself not from a desire to be employed but as a last expedient in case you should find no other person ready to attempt the execution of this business.

In the greatest possible haste, I have the honour to be,

My dear Sir,

Your aff'c friend & humble Servt,

D. HUMPHREYS.

P.S. I pray you will have the goodness to present my best respects to Mrs. Washington, & my Compliments to my friends with you.

The President of the U. S.¹

¹ U. S. Archives, State Dept., Washington, D. C.

CHAPTER IX

Algerine Affairs

Appointment by Washington of Humphreys as Sole Commissioner in the Algerine Affairs—Official Communication of Appointment Made by Jefferson—Who Sends him his Instructions—Announces the Appointment of Capt. Cutting as Secretary to Humphreys—Jefferson Writes again on the Question of American Wheat and Flour—Jefferson Warns Humphreys against Hamilton—He Apologizes for his Non-Success in Effecting Liberation of Algerine Captives—Humphreys Congratulates Washington on his Second Election to the Presidency—Gives him a Full Survey of Matters in the Peninsula and Europe—This Letter Crosses One from Washington Announcing his Re-election—Humphreys Acquaints Washington with Signing of Treaty between Prussia and Algiers—Humphreys Writes to Washington on his Discovery that United States had in 1792 Received an Offer from the Dey of Algiers of a Treaty of Peace—Announces the Capture of Further Ships by the Corsairs—Arrival of Capt. Cutting—Extracts from his Journal—Washington Praised by a Spanish General—Gouverneur Morris's Letter of Sympathy to Mr. Carmichael—Indecision of Mr. Short—The Cool Reception at Spanish Court of Messrs. Carmichael and Short as Commissioners—Neutrality of United States between France and England in their War Proclaimed April, 1793.

IT is gratifying to know that long before the letter from Col. Humphreys to the President could have reached America his fitness for the charge of the Algerine affairs had been recognized and Washington had transferred the sole execution of them to his hands.

This should have been done long ago; not only on account of Humphreys' peculiar fitness for carrying to a good end all delicate diplomatic missions but also because he was the only man of ability on the spot.

While it is true that Mr. Carmichael was not a man of ability, yet it is not fair to lay all the blame on him for the non-success of the negotiations. The State Department at Washington was directed by a man of ability—no one can accuse Jefferson of having had only mediocre abilities—yet the representatives of the United States were dictated to and not allowed a free hand. Possibly had they had a free hand they might have brought the negotiations to a successful conclusion.

Jefferson had long known the sad condition of the American prisoners. It had formed a subject of discussion when he had been in Paris. He then lamented his inability to effect anything for them. When, however, he had the power in his own hands as Secretary of State he really accomplished nothing. He was unwilling to lose his popularity with the common people by insisting on spending an adequate sum for their release, or by taking any definite step against the Barbary States.

PHILADELPHIA, March 21, 1793.

SIR,

The deaths of Admiral Paul Jones first, and afterwards, of Mr. Barclay to whom the mission to Algiers explained in the enclosed papers was successively confided, have led the President to desire you to undertake the execution of it in person. These papers being copies of what had been delivered to them will serve as your guide. But Mr. Barclay having been also charged with a Commission to Morocco it will be necessary to give you some trouble with respect to that also.

Mr. Nathaniel Cutting, the Bearer hereof, is dispatched especially first to receive from Mr. Pinckney in London any papers, or information, which his Agency in the Algerine Business may have enabled him to communicate to you. He will then proceed to deliver the whole to you, and accompany and aid you in the Character of Secretary.

It is thought necessary that you should in the first instance

settle Mr. Barclay's accounts respecting the Morocco Mission which will probably render it necessary that you should go to Gibraltar.

The communications you have had with Mr. Barclay in this mission will assist you in your endeavors at a Settlement. You know the sum received by Mr. Barclay on that account, and we wish an exact statement, as can be made, of the manner in which it has been laid out, and what part of its proceeds are now on hand. You will be pleased to make an inventory of these proceeds now existing. If they, or any part of them can be used for the Algerine mission, we would have you by all means apply them to that use debiting the Algerine fund, and crediting that of Morocco with the amount of such application.

If they cannot be so used then dispose of the perishable articles to the best advantage, and if you can sell those, not perishable, for what they cost do so, and what you cannot so sell, deposit in any safe place under your own power. In this last stage of the Business return us an exact account—1st, of the specified articles remaining on hand for that mission and their value. 2nd, of its cash on hand. 3rd, of any money which may be due to or from, Mr. Barclay or any other person on account of this mission and take measures for replacing the clear balance of cash in the Hands of Messrs W. & J. Willincks & Micks & Jacob Van Staphorts & Hubbard.

This matter being settled you will be pleased to proceed on the mission of Madrid, if you think any information you can get from Mr. Carmichael, or any other may be an equivalent for the Trouble, experience and delay of the Journey. If not proceed, in whatever other way you please to Algiers.

Proper Powers and Credentials for you addressed to that government herewith enclosed. The Instructions first given to Admiral Paul Jones are so full that no others need be added except a Qualification in one single article to wit: Should that Government finally reject peace on the terms in money to which you are authorized to go, you may offer to make the first payment for peace and that for ransom in Naval Stores, reserving the right to make the subsequent annual payment in money.

You are to be allowed your travelling expenses, your Salary, as Minister Resident in Portugal, going on. These expenses must be debited to the Algerine Mission, and not carried into your ordinary account as Resident. Mr. Cutting is allowed one hundred Dollars a month, and his expenses, which as soon as he joins you, will of course be consolidated with yours. We have made choice of him as particularly qualified to aid under your direction, in the matters of account with which he is well acquainted. He received here an advance of one thousand Dollars by a draught on our Bankers in Holland in whose Hands the fund is deposited. This, and all other sums furnished him, to be debited to the Algerine fund. I enclose you a letter to our Bankers giving you complete authority over these funds which you had better send with your first Draught, though I send a copy of it from hence by another opportunity.

This business being done you will be pleased to return to Lisbon and to keep yourself and us thereafter well informed of the transactions in Morocco and as soon as you shall find that the Succession to that Government is settled and stable so that we may know to whom a Commissioner may be addressed be so good as to give us the information that we may take measures in consequence.

I have the honor to be, with much respect, Sir,

Your most obedient and most humble Servant

TH. JEFFERSON.

COLONEL HUMPHREYS¹

Colonel Humphreys lost no time in dispatching all business preliminary to his journey to Algiers. The new Consul, Mr. Church, had to be informed of pending negotiations with the Portuguese government, the restriction upon American trade and the discrimination against American grain. The Minister's course of protest against it had the approval of the Secretary of State, who says in a letter of March 22, 1793:

¹ U. S. Archives, State Dept., Washington, D. C.

PHILADELPHIA, Mar. 22, 1793.

DEAR SIR,

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letters from No. 50 to No. 67 inclusive. You cannot be too vigilant against any such treaty as that mentioned in No. 60 which by giving the exclusive supply of wheat to Naples, would altogether debar the U. S. from it. This would bear so hard on us, that not only an exclusion of their wines from the U. S. ought to be expected on their part, but every other measure which might open to us a market in *any other part of the World*, however Portugal might be affected by it. And, I must for ever repeat it that, instead of excluding our wheat, we must continue to hope that they will open their ports to our *flour*, and that you will continue to use your efforts, on every good occasion to obtain this without waiting for a treaty.

As there appears at present a probability of a very general war in Europe, you will be pleased to be particularly active to preserve for our vessels all the rights of neutrality, and to endeavor that our flag be not usurped by others to procure to themselves the benefits of our neutrality. This usurpation tends to commit us with foreign nations, to subject those vessels truly ours to vigorous scrutinies & delays, to distinguish them from counterfeits and to take the business of transportation out of our hands.

Continue, if you please, your intelligence relative to affairs of Spain from whence we learn nothing but thro' you; to which, it will be acceptable, that you add any leading events from other countries as we have several times received important facts thro' you, even from London, sooner than they have come from London directly.

The letters inclosed for Mr. Short & Mr. Carmichael are of very secret nature. If you go to Madrid, you will be the bearer of them yourself; if not, it would be better to retain them than to send them by any conveyance which does not command your entire confidence. I have never yet had a letter from Mr. Carmichael but the one you brought from Madrid. A particular circumstance will occasion forbearance yet a little longer.

Algerine Affairs

Capt. Cutting will bring you a copy of the laws of the last session of Congress & of the gazettes to the time of his departure.

Not yet knowing the actual arrival of Mr. Church at Lisbon, I believe it will be safer that I direct letters for you during your absence to Messrs. Bulkeley & Son, with whom you will leave what direction on the subject you shall think proper.

I am with great esteem & respect, Dear Sir,

Your most obedt & most humble servt.

TH. JEFFERSON.

P.S. Be so good as to inform Mr. Simpson at Gibraltar how he is to direct his letters to my office, to wit,

"to the Secretary of State, etc."¹

On the same date Mr. Jefferson acknowledges the private letter of our Minister and adds a postscript showing that his prejudice and his dislike of his colleague of the Treasury had then assumed large proportions. It is a curious commentary upon this warning that of all the men illustrious in council and war of that period Colonel Hamilton is the only one with whom Colonel Humphreys does not seem to have lived on terms of intimacy.

(Private)

PHILADELPHIA Mar. 22, 1793.

DEAR SIR,

I thank you sincerely for your friendly letter of Jan. 8. Particular circumstances have forced me to protract awhile, my departure from office, which, however, will take place in the course of the year. Continue, therefore, if you please the general address of your letters to "The Secretary of State, etc.," as recommended. Be assured that I shall carry into retirement and retain the most affectionate sentiments toward you. I am, in truth, worn down with drudgery, and while every circumstance relative to my private affairs calls imperiously for my return to them, not a single one exists which could render tolerable a continuation in public life.

¹ U. S. Archives, State Dept., Washington, D. C.

I do not wonder that Capt. Obrian has lost patience under his long-continued captivity, & that he may suppose some of the public servants have neglected him & his brethren. He may possibly impute neglect to me, because a forbearance to correspond with him would have that appearance, tho' it was dictated by the single apprehension, that if he received letters from me as M. P.^x of the U. S. at Paris, or as Secretary of State, it would increase the expectations of the captors and raise the ransom beyond what his countrymen would be disposed to give, & so end in their perpetual captivity. But, in truth, I have labored for them constantly & zealously, in every situation in which I have been placed. In the first moment of their captivity, I first proposed to Mr. Adams to take upon ourselves their ransom, tho' unauthorized by Congress. I proposed to Congress & obtained their permission to employ the Order of Mercy in France for their ransom, but never could obtain orders for the money till just as I was leaving France & was obliged to turn the matter over to Mr. Short. As soon as I came here I laid the matter before the President & Congress, in two long reports, but Congress could not decide till the beginning of 1792, & then clogged their ransom by a previous requisition of peace. The unfortunate deaths of two successive Commissioners have still retarded their relief, &, even should they be now relieved, will probably deprive me of the gratification of seeing my endeavours for them crowned at length with success by their arrival while I am here. It would indeed be grating to me if, after all, I should be supposed by them to have been indifferent to their situation. I will ask of your friendship to do me justice in their eyes that to the pain I have already felt for them, may not be added that of their dissatisfaction. I explained my proceedings, on their behalf, to a Dr. Warner whom I saw at Paris on his way to Algiers, & particularly the reason why I did not answer Obrian's letters, & desired him to communicate it to Capt. Obrian. But I do not know whether he did it. I think it more probable that Mr. Carmichael will impute to me also an event which must take place

^x Abbreviation for "Minister Plenipotentiary."

this year. In truth, it is so extraordinary a circumstance that a public agent, placed in a foreign court for the purpose of correspondence, should in three years have found means to get but one letter to us, that he must himself be sensible that if he could have sent us letters, he ought to be recalled as negligent, and if he could not, he ought to be recalled as useless. I have nevertheless procured his continuance in order to give him an opportunity which occurred of his rendering a sensible service to his country, and thereby drawing some degree of favor on his return.

Wishing you every circumstance of success & happiness I am, with great esteem, Dear Sir,

Your sincere friend & Servt,
TH. JEFFERSON.

(Publick)

Tell Mr. Carmichael that I have still but one letter from him.

(Private)

Be cautious in your letters to the Secretary of the Treasury. He sacrificed you, on a late occasion, when called on to explain, before the Senate, his proceedings relative to the loans in Europe. Instead of extracting such passages of your letters as might relate to them, he gave in the originals in which I am told were strong expressions against the French republicans: and even gave in a correspondence between G. Morris & yourself which scarcely related to the loans at all, merely that a long letter of Morris's might appear in which he argues, as a democrat himself against you as an aristocrat. I have done what I could to lessen the injury this did you, for such sentiments towards the French are extremely grating here, tho' they are those of Hamilton himself & the monarchists of his cabal.—Particular circumstances have obliged me to remain here a little longer: but I certainly retire in the summer or fall. The next Congress will be strongly Republican. Adieu.^x

^x U. S. Archives, State Dept., Washington, D. C.

A few days after the Secretary of State sent the Colonel another letter:

PHILADELPHIA Mar. 30, 1793.

DEAR SIR:—

Having very short notice of a vessel just sailing from this port for Lisbon, direct, I think it proper to inform you now mainly that powers are made out, for you to proceed and execute the Algerine business committed to Mr. Barclay. Capt. Cutting who is to assist you in this special business as Secretary leaves this place three days hence and will proceed in the British packet by way of London & thence to Lisbon where he will deliver you the papers. The instructions to you are in general to settle Mr. B's Morocco's account & take care of the effects provided for that business, applying such of them as are proper to the Algerine Mission, and as to the residue converting the perishable part of it into cash, and having the other part safely kept. You will be pleased therefore to be preparing & doing in this what can be done before the arrival of Capt. Cutting, that there may be as little delay as possible. I am with great & sincere esteem & respect Dr. Sir,

Your most obedt & most humble servt,

TH. JEFFERSON.

COL. HUMPHREYS.¹

In a letter which is written with all the freedom of intimate friendship, Col. Humphreys congratulates General Washington on his unanimous re-election and shows how largely the good results of government under the Constitution were due to him.

(Secret and Confidential)

LISBON March 24th, 1793.

MY DEAR SIR,

I took the liberty of addressing a letter to you from Gibraltar on the 8th of last month, which I hope will have come

¹ U. S. Archives, State Dept., Washington, D. C.

safe to your hand. I mentioned therein that my design in writing was only to suggest two hints the first whether you would wish to make use of Mr. Church in the Morocco business, as he was soon expected at Lisbon? The second that (if you could not conveniently find any person but myself to undertake the affair which was first committed to Adral Jones, & eventually to Mr. Barclay) I would attempt the execution of the temporary Commission upon condition of having all the expenses merely borne by the public, and of having some person sent by you, or employed by me to assist in doing the writing and keeping the Accts. I farther added, that although I thus proposed myself it was not from a desire of having my services accepted under an idea of its being a gratification to me, but solely as a dernier resort in case no other or better expedient should occur.

Since the date of that letter, the commencement of hostilities between France & England has rendered the process of the business considerably more difficult than before. And as most of the other maritime powers seem likely to be involved in the war, in that case the difficulty of transporting to the place of destination, the necessary money without hazarding its loss, (that is to say, by chartering a neutral vessel) will become almost insuperable. I mention this not for the sake of wishing to decline any service you may think proper to order, but with a view, that by being apprised of the circumstances, you may be able to take your measures & cause instructions to be given accordingly to the person who shall, ultimately be employed on that business, whosoever he may be.

It was my most beloved & most esteemed Sir, with a degree of satisfaction easier conceived than expressed, that I heard of your unanimous re-election to the office of President. The same event having twice happened almost induces me to think that miracles have not yet ceased. The concentered Suffrage of four Millions of People in your favour without a dissentient, is at least a novelty in the history of mankind. I will not, however, make use of the ordinary way of congratulating you, because you know sufficiently my heart, and the sincerity of my wishes & prayers for your long life & perfect

happiness. But you will permit me to congratulate the Public & myself on an event which certainly gives more pleasure to every other individual in the Republic, than to yourself. Whatever at any former period, I may have thought, whatever good you may have since done in a public character, I am now more than ever convinced your services are still necessary for your Country. You know I am incapable of flattering and therefore will believe me when I say that although I am sensible the Government is very firmly established & the different parts of the Union better cemented than could possibly have been expected; yet I fully believe your influence, example, & prudence are still requisite to place the national felicity on a basis so permanent as not to be shaken for ages to come. This idea ought to animate you through all your toils & sacrifices. And the certain knowledge you have, that no human character ever enjoyed so much untarnished fame in his life time should more than compensate for any little perplexities, troubles & vexations you may encounter, & to which human nature, in every situation, is inevitably exposed.—Nor can the unequivocal proof you have so lately had of the real sentiments of your Countrymen respecting your conduct be unacceptable to you. For you must be sensible that many of the most distinguished characters which have ever adorned the World, have in retaliation for the greatest services met with the blackest ingratitude. And, indeed, the instances have been innumerable in which the benefactors of mankind, after lives worn out in public services, have been obliged to appeal to Posterity for the posthumous fame they now enjoy. But Heaven be thanked, how different is your case? . . . No person in existence ought perhaps to be better acquainted with your real character than I am: and what ever merit I may be disposed to allow you (nor must you imagine me very niggardly in the allowance) for having acquired all this good will of mankind at home & abroad, I cannot forbear believing you are, taking the circumstances together, the most fortunate man that ever existed; or in other & more reasonable words that you have during your whole life been under the peculiar favour & protection of a good Providence.

It is exceedingly pleasant to me, & ought to be infinitely more so to you, to look back upon the dark scenes of a military & political kind, through which our Country has passed to its present distinguished state of tranquility & happiness: and then to extend our views to the still brighter prospects of the improvements & greatness. No reasonable man could have been so sanguine as to have anticipated the one half of what has happened in our own times. And yet I am persuaded you will do me the justice to recollect, in the long & frequent conversations we had at Mount Vernon, respecting your accepting the Presidency my opinions & anticipations came much nearer to the truth than your own. I even then believed entirely in the wonderfully happy effects of a free & energetic Government. Your modesty led you to think too humbly of yourself & of the services you were capable of rendering your Country on that critical occasion. Had you persisted in that full determination you had positively adopted of not accepting the Presidency how unfortunately different might have been at this moment your Country's reputation & your own? Yet I know you were actuated by the best possible motives, & I am well assured the first conversation you ever had with any man living on that subject, would do you more real credit in the judgment of the impartial world & of Posterity, than any one of the most splendid actions of your whole life. For where a man unbosoms his inmost thoughts & sentiments to his friend, he is certainly displaying without ostentation the dictates of his heart: & if then he, inadvertently, brings forth to light traits of character that tend to dignify the very race to which we belong, it is because those hidden qualities are really his own, & not because he wishes them to be seen or known of Men.

If as a member of the Community & from public motives I have a right to rejoice in your continuing with the universal wishes of your Countrymen at the head of the Government; I ought not perhaps be less pleased on a personal & private account. While I may happen to remain in a public character abroad it is certainly one of the most pleasant & useful circumstances possible for me to find a Person in that Station to whom I may as an honest Man, communicate every senti-

ment & feeling of the Soul without reserve. It may also be highly beneficial for the Public for me on certain occasions to be able to disclose facts or projects with more freedom and in greater detail to you as chief magistrate than it would be proper for me to do in an official letter to the Secretary of State which letter must remain on the files of his office.

Apropos—I have been most zealously exerting myself for some weeks past to find out what to do, to induce this Government to act with liberality or even common justice in respects to our wheat trade. The measures they adopt in detaining our vessels are certainly highly impolitic, & the reasons they give are of a very singular & (to me) unsatisfactory nature. If necessity obliges them to detain a supply of grain they ought to pay for it at the highest price which could be obtained in the market to which it might have been carried. This, I believe, is practiced in every other country under similar circumstances.

The refusal to admit our flour you will perceive is owing wholly to the prevalence of the aristocratic influence over the real interests of the People at large. These impolitic regulations they have a right to persist in, if they find it their interest so to do, but how far it may be in the power, or policy of our Government to give greater facilities to the exportation of flour, than to the exportation of wheat, I know not. And whether in that case any exemption of duties on tonnage or other measures, operating in the nature of an encouragement or bounty to vessels employed in the exportation of flour should be able to give such an advantage over the exportation of grain in the unmanufactured state as in a manner to compel it to be admitted here from motives of interest, I only suggest to your superior information & discretion.

I beg you will have the goodness to pardon this long letter, to offer my most affectionate regards to Mrs. Washington & the family and to believe me to be with the greatest truth & affection,

Your most grateful Servt & faithful friend
D. HUMPHREYS.

The President of the U. S. of America.¹

¹ U. S. Archives, State Dept., Washington, D. C.

Readers of this correspondence between Washington and Humphreys will have been struck with the remarkable frequency with which the two friends wrote to each other almost at the same time on the same topics.

PHILADELPHIA March 23, 1793.

MY DEAR SIR:—

Closely engaged in the business incident to my Office during the Session of Congress, and as closely employed since in making arrangements for carrying into effect the Laws then passed, and in discharging other public duties, I have not till this moment found myself enough at leisure to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 23d. of July; and being now on the eve of setting out for Mount Vernon, I shall be able to do but little more than barely acknowledge the receipt of it and of the favors of the 23d, of January & 8 of February, both of which have reached my hands within these four days.

Even if I had time, it might not be proper for me to reply particularly to the several parts of your letter especially that of the 23d July. I shall therefore content myself at present, my dear Sir, with making a few general observations on the existing State of things, & rely upon your being assured that however concise my letter may be, it does not become so from any diminution, of my regard for you.

If it can be esteemed a happiness to live in an age productive of great and interesting events, we of the present age are very highly favored.

The rapidity of national revolutions appear no less astonishing than their magnitude; and the consequences of them seem to baffle every calculation. In what they will terminate is known only to the Great Ruler of events; and confiding in his wisdom and goodness, we may safely trust the issue to him, without perplexing ourselves to seek for that which is beyond the human ken; only taking care to perform the parts assigned to us in a way that reason and our own consciences approve of.

All our late accounts from Europe hold up the expectation of a general war in that quarter. For the sake of humanity I

hope such an event will not take place; but if it should, I trust that we shall have too just a sense of our own interest to originate any cause that may involve us in it—and I ardently wish we may not be forced into it by the conduct of other nations. If we are permitted to improve, without interruption, the great advantages which nature and circumstances have placed within our reach, many years will not revolve before we may be ranked not only among the most respectable but among the happiest people on this globe.

Our advances to those points are more rapid than the most sanguine among us ever predicted. A spirit of improvement displays itself in every quarter, and principally in objects of the greatest public utility; such as opening the inland navigation, which is extensive and various beyond conception; improving the old roads; and making new ones; building bridges and houses; and, in short, pursuing those things which seem eminently calculated to promote the advantage and accommodation of the people at large. Besides these, the enterprizes of individuals show at once what are the happy effects of personal exertions in a country where equal rights prevail.

For myself, you see me again entering upon the arduous duties of an important office, to which the unanimous voice of my country has once more called me. To you, who know my love of retirement and domestic life, it is unnecessary to say, that in accepting this reappointment, I relinquish those personal enjoyments to which I am peculiarly attached. The motives which induced my acceptance are the same which have ever ruled my decision when the public desire, (or, as my countrymen are pleased to denominate it, good) was placed in the scale against any personal enjoyment or private interest; the latter I have ever considered as subservient to the former; and, perhaps in no instance of my life have I ever been more sensible of the sacrifice than in the present; for, at my age, the love of retirement grows every day more and more powerful, and the death of my nephew, the poor Major, will, I apprehend, cause my private concerns to suffer very much. This melancholy event took place on the 5th of last month, at Colonel

Bassett's, where he had gone, hoping to benefit from a change of air and situation. Although it has been long expected and indeed to me of late appeared inevitable, yet I have felt it very keenly.

You will receive from Mr. Jefferson every official communication necessary for your conduct, together with the Laws, public papers, &c. He will also inform you, that the steps which you took, in consequence of Mr. Barclay's death, met my entire approbation.

I set out with intimating that my letter would be very short; but upon looking back I find it can be hardly said to have that fault but lest it should partake of another at least as bad, I shall close it, with assuring you, that you have the best wishes for your health and happiness of, Your sincere friend and affectionate servant,

GEO. WASHINGTON.¹

The pressing necessity of adopting prompt measures for the relief of the American prisoners is an evident reason why our Minister sent a brief letter to the President only two weeks after his epistle of March 24th.

(Secret and Confidential)

LISBON April 4th, 1793.

MY DEAR SIR:—

Since I had the honour of addressing you on the 24th Ultimo I have seen two letters from Capt. O'Brien (the last of the 12th of February) to the Messrs Bulkeley of this Town. In these he mentions that a Peace had been made by the instrumentality of Spain between Prussia & Algiers for "one hundred & forty thousand Mexican Dollars; Prussia to pay a Tribute every two years, & to send an Ambassador directly to Algiers."—If this be a fact the U. S. can hardly expect to obtain a Peace on lower terms.

Capt'n. O'Brien also says "we received a remittance of money last November in order to prolong life."—From what

¹ U. S. Archives, State Dept., Washington, D. C.

quarter this should come, I cannot conjecture, unless from the part of Mr. Carmichael. But of this I am as uninformed as you can be perhaps more so since Mr. Carmichael has never written a syllable to me in answer to the numerous letters I have written to him on the subject as you will have found particularly mentioned in my Correspondence with the Secretary of State. Nor has Mr. Carmichael ever drawn Bills upon me for that purpose, as he was often desired to do, as my letters to the office of foreign affairs abundantly show. But I will not enlarge, the whole subject being before you.

With every possible Sentiment of affection & respect, I have the honour to remain,

My dear Sir,

Your sincere friend & most obliged humble Servant,

D. HUMPHREYS.

P.S. I will again ask the favor of having my most affectionate regards presented to Mrs. Washington & the family.¹

No mere summary can do justice to the manner in which our Minister seizes the proper moment. He knew that the fuller the information in the possession of the Government the better would they be prepared to act. Col. Humphreys, therefore, obtained Capt. O'Brien's letter and sent it without comment excepting an expression of surprise at the offer by the Dey of Algiers of terms of peace in April, 1792.

(Secret and Confidential)

LISBON, May 5th. 1793.

MY DEAR SIR,

I wrote to the Secretary of State on the 29th Ultro by way of Boston. In that Dispatch I mentioned having seen a letter of the 20th of March from Captn O'Brien, on Algerine affairs. I now take the liberty of enclosing the copy of the letter from him to a Gentleman in this city, for your information. I

¹ U. S. Archives, State Dept., Washington, D. C.

pretend to make no comments upon it, as you must know more of the subject than I do: and particularly whether, any or what terms for a Peace had been transmitted on the part of the Dey to the United States in April 1792 . . . of which circumstance I do not recollect ever to have heard a syllable before.— But from the ransom actually given for the redemption of George Smith, from the general tenor of intelligence as well as from the facts relative to Holland mentioned in the enclosed I should apprehend there is not the least shadow of probability that a Treaty can be found in certain Papers which you know came accidentally into my possession.—And if it shall be judged there will be little or no chance of effecting that purpose upon those conditions, the wisdom of Government will have to decide on the nature of expediency of the measure still to be taken.

In the present circumstances of the naval war in Europe, the difficulty is very great (& perhaps will be almost insuperable) of chartering a neutral vessel & transporting a considerable amount of property in safety to a destined point.

A Danish vessel bound from Lisbon to Genoa is taken & carried into Marseilles; and we have just now received certain advice that Captn Rodman, commanding a ship belonging to a Citizen of the U. S. who sailed a few days ago from Lisbon for St. Petersburg has been captured by a French Privateer; recaptured by an English Frigate & sent into Bilboa. Other neutral vessels have been brought by British Cruisers into Gibraltar. None of them had military stores. I understand the pretext, on one & the other side is to examine whether the property on board does not belong to Subjects of a Power with which their nations are at war. By all accounts from France it appears that the situation of that new Republic is very alarming indeed. Although we have no authentic details to be absolutely relied upon, yet there is little doubt that discord & treachery greatly prevail.

The reports of the reasons of Dumorier & other Generals are too monstrous almost for credibility. God only knows how the confusions will end.

I hope soon to hear good news from America & that the

troublesome war of the Savages is terminated. In the meantime I pray you will offer my best compliments to Mrs. Washington, & our friends near you, and that you will be persuaded there is no one more sincerely attached to you, than your affect. friend & humble Servant.

D. HUMPHREYS.

The President of the United States of America.¹

Capt. Cutting arrived in the summer and together the final arrangements were made for their departure from Lisbon. As it seemed difficult to ascertain directly the progress of the negotiations of the American commissioners with the Court of Madrid, Col. Humphreys was ready to obtain such as could be secured from the Spanish Ambassador in Lisbon, and other authentic sources.

Mr. Carmichael in the midst of Spanish intrigues and evasions had become morose and mournful. It was expected that with the presence of Mr. Short, who in Paris had been resourceful and tactful, and with a very definite work laid out for him, the American Chargé would be recalled from his gloomy abstraction and use his evident talents in behalf of his country.

His friend, Gouverneur Morris, then United States Minister at Paris, in writing to him on November 5, 1792, says:

I have received your letters of the twenty-ninth of August, and fifteenth of October. I feel perfectly your situation and have frequently lamented that you had not powers equal to the position in which² you are placed. It would seem we know not yet the value of the moment, and I fear that we shall find to our cost that *post est opportunitas calva.*³

When Mr. Short was here, he talked of going to Madrid, but

¹ U. S. Archives, State Dept., Washington, D. C.

² Used in the diplomatic sense meaning a grade sufficiently high to enable him to treat authoritatively.

³ "The future is a bare chance."

from what cause I know not, he appeared to me indecisive, and apprehensive, to a degree which was astonishing. Whether this arises from nature, or from long habits of ease in this city I know not.¹

Where indecision and indolence were thus found there was not much assurance of any successful issue to their interviews and confidences with such a trained diplomatist as the Spanish minister, the Duc d' Alcudia.

Mr. Short finally left Paris for Madrid on January 6, 1793.

Without detailing here the cool courtesy and perfect dignity with which the Commissioners were received and the apparent willingness to grant the reasonable demands of the United States, it is sufficient to say that no real progress was made although the negotiations were prolonged for more than a year.

The dispatches sent by them were very often taken by the cruisers of France or England and frequently did not reach Philadelphia until many months had elapsed. The proclamation of the neutrality of the United States in the war between England and France was sent on April 26, 1793, to all the diplomatic agents in Europe.

¹ *Life of Gouverneur Morris*, ii., p. 245.

CHAPTER X

Algerine Piracy

Humphreys' Account to Washington of State of Affairs especially in France in September 1793—Strongly Advises an Attitude of Strict Neutrality for the United States—Sails for Gibraltar—On Arrival at Gibraltar Learns of Truce between Portugal and Algiers—Announces this Intelligence to Washington—Refusal of Dey of Algiers to Allow Any United States Commissioner to Land in his Regency—Announces this to the President Advising Immediate Formation of an United States Navy—And Proclamation of a Public Day of Fasting—Makes Permanent Provision for subsistence and Clothing of the Captives—Begs the Good Offices of the Swedish Consul on their Behalf—Writes to Capt. O'Brien—Also to the Captains and Crews made Captive—And to the Mariner Citizens of the United States in Captivity—Draws up Estimate for Clothing Captives—Proceeds to Madrid—Writes to Jefferson again Urging Formation of United States Fleet—Gives an Account of Spanish and French Affairs—Forwards Demands by Dey for Peace with Portugal—Reports Capture of American Brig *Minerva*—This Making a Total of One Hundred and Two American Prisoners—Writes Confidentially to Washington Giving Substance of his Conversation with Chev. Pinto—Especially on Proposed Truce between Portugal and Algiers—Gives the Queries he Propounded to Minister of Genoa in Event of United States Sending a Fleet into the Mediterranean—Differences between Jefferson and Hamilton—Jefferson formally Announces his Resignation—Impatience of Capt. O'Brien at Tardiness of United States—Letter of Humphreys to him—Gives Letter of Introduction to Chev. de Freire for Washington—Removal of Mr. Carmichael—Appointment of Mr. Short as his Successor—Sends an Account of European Affairs to Washington—And Later confidentially on Relations between Portugal and England—Publishes an Appeal in America for Subscriptions to Ransom Some of the Captives—Some are thus Freed—Gives Letter of Introduction to Capt. Burnham for the President.

THE summer of 1793 was gloomy in the extreme. The fierce passions and unbridled license of the Parisian mob which controlled the affairs of France and put to

death hundreds of her nobles and men of worth, which dictated her laws, and reversed her relations with every other nation, and sought to change the times and the seasons, were then at their height. Rumours of what it did and what it intended doing were spread abroad. The close connections of Portugal with England, the unsettled health of the Queen, and the untried capacity of the Prince Regent made her course uncertain. Would the known friendship of the United States for France cause a coolness in regard to Portugal? Would she at English dictation or suggestion withdraw the safeguards of neutrality from American vessels, and make common cause with England? At that early stage of the war she had not declared her course of action. It was necessary for the American Minister to be alert, courteous, and firm. As no unfriendly action seemed to be contemplated Col. Humphreys made final arrangements to fulfil his Algerine agency, leaving all diplomatic affairs in charge of Mr. Edward Church, the recently appointed Consul-General at Lisbon.

Four days before his departure he wrote to the President. His account of the siege of Toulon is calm, accurate, and the first that reached America. His observations upon the position that should be assumed by the United States towards Europe was for that era wise, judicious, politic. By neglecting such advice from other sources great injury was done to the nation when M. Genet in the same year thought that this nation was practically a province of France. The excess of sympathy with France brought about estrangement of friends and a sharp division between parties.

LISBON Sept. 13, 1793.

MY DEAR SIR,

The consolation I derive from your good & friendly letter of the 23rd of March compensates a great deal for the cruel

chagrine I feel for so long an absence from everything my heart holds most dear. It is particularly a cordial for many uneasy sensations I feel at the present moment respecting the interesting affair in which I am engaging.

It was somewhat of a curious circumstance that I should have been writing to you almost at the instant you was writing to me, and in part upon the same subject, viz; your re-election to & reacceptance of the office of President. My sentiments are so clearly expressed in that letter that I need not repeat them in this.

You will have the goodness to recollect that long ago I told my friend Mr. Lear, I was afraid of writing you, lest you should give yourself more trouble than you really ought to do in answering my letters. Be persuaded, my dear & most beloved General, it is only under condition of your absolutely suffering no inconvenience on that account that I shall continue at times to use the permission of giving you such remarkable & interesting articles of information as may come to my knowledge, so as to be communicated earlier than through other channels.

We have at this moment one article of News of very great importance, which you can hardly receive from any other quarter as soon as from this. On the 28th of last month, the Royalists of Toulon gave up the town & fleet to co-operate with the English & Spanish fleet before it, commanded by Lord Hood & Admiral Langara, in the establishment (as they term it) of Louis the 17th King of France. The Toulon fleet consisted of upwards of 30 Sail of which 17 were manned & fit for Sea, and several more in great forwardness. This intelligence, came in so short a space of time as to render it suspicious, if it were not official to the Spanish Ambassador & the Portuguese Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, from whom I have it myself. Deputies from Marseilles were likewise said to be on board the combined fleet for the purpose of making the same cession of that City—An article which is more certain, is that the advanced Corps of the French Army on the frontiers of Spain has been defeated by General Ricardos with the loss of 15 Cannon & a considerable number of men.

Other reports of events of sufficient magnitude are rife in circulation, but by no means of equal authenticity such as the capture of Cambray, Lisle, & some other strongly garrisoned Towns the approach of the Prince of Coburg on the one hand & Gaston (at the Head of the Royalists) on the other, to some position within nine leagues of Paris, and that these two forces had opened a friendly intercourse with each other—this I do not greatly rely upon.—We have no Packet since my last letter to the Secretary of State but by an English Gazette, accidentally received, it appears from an official account, the Duke of York had gained a splendid success over a superior force near Dunkirk. From other channels of intelligence, it seems that the French fleet from Brest & Lord Howe's channel fleet are both at Sea. The Troops destined by this Court to serve in Spain are certainly ordered to embark on Monday next. . . . I learn this from the Secretary of State, who was so exceedingly polite as to offer me a passage to Gibralter on board one of the Men of War. This was when I called upon him yesterday to introduce Mr. Church, as remaining in charge with the affairs of the U. S. during my absence. I had only to thank him for his politeness for I could not have carried my effects by that conveyance without exciting improper conjectures, even if I had not already engaged another conveyance. I was glad to find he had no suspicion of the real object. It is impossible to be more sensible of the good policy of our preserving in all events an unshaken resolution of neutrality, than I am. I rejoiced therefore most sincerely in the measure you had taken for that purpose. And I have endeavoured to co-operate in the same system, as far as lay in my power, by making everybody believe it was not less our inclination than interest to avoid being involved in a war of such a complicated nature & at such a distance. In the name of everything sacred & dear, let us persevere firmly in the same inoffensive line of conduct, and let us improve diligently the natural & political advantages with which Heaven has favoured us. By those means we shall acquire the resources & power to redress hereafter any partial & temporary inconveniences & wrongs we may suffer at present, on account of our pertinacious adher-

ence to the pacific system. Yes, my dear General, I do verily believe we can finally preserve Peace for ourselves, if we seriously determine upon it. The Atlantic is our best friend. Notwithstanding the unfavorable dispositions of Spain (which I have communicated to the Secretary of State in two letters & which I have reason to believe exist in as great a degree as ever) England, as a Maritime Power, is the only nation that can force us into a war.—And whatever the dispositions of that Government may be, rest assured if we use all the reasonable & just means in our power to prevent our being dragged into hostility the People of England will either prevent the Government from causing that deplorable event or, after a short time they will take part (I mean with a powerful & effectual opposition) against the Government, with us. In the last resort, a dignified spirited & calm address to the People of England might not be without its effect. I am therefore well assured, you will continue to make the World believe, we are unalterably determined, by words & actions of the clearest demonstration to follow as a Nation the paths of justice & peace alone. In the event of a war, this must render our Cause popular. This cannot fail to make an opposite conduct on the part of others, with respect to us, odious in the eyes of the World in general. In my judgment, we had better even make temporary & inconsiderable sacrifices than be forced in to measures, which however they may ultimately terminate to our national glory, must in the meantime be attended with great misfortunes & losses particularly, as they will serve to check our actual, progressive improvements. Let us remember that Switzerland, Genoa & some other little States are able to preserve their neutrality; and if it were not for the too intimate connection of Portugal with England & Spain, she would be able to do the same—The hostile preparations on her part are unpopular here in a high degree. And now my dear & respected General, to make a transition from the unpropitious affairs of war to the more desirable ones of peace, I cannot help expressing the strong sensations of joy which your pleasing account of the prosperous state of our Country afforded me. It is from the plough, not the sword,

the greatness & happiness of a Nation must be ultimately derived.

Apropos—of the plough Mr. Close (an English clergyman & a great farmer, now here for his health) has ordered one of the newest & best construction to be shipped from England for you, in my name. This you will perceive by the enclosed extract of a letter from his Correspondent to him. I offered & insisted to pay the Bill for the plough, but Mr. Close would not in any manner permit it; so it is a present from him to you,—And I have no doubt will prove an acceptable & useful one.

I intended fully to have written to my friend Mr. Lear by this opportunity but in my hurry of departure, I have not in truth time to do it.

Pray, in apologizing to him have the goodness to offer my best compliments & sincerest regards to Mrs. Washington and all my *friends* around you (the loss of one you know I sincerely lament) and ever remain possessed of the sure & certain knowledge that you have no *one* more cordially attached to you, or who more ardently wishes for your long & uninterrupted continuance of your health & happiness than

Your most affc friend & grateful Servant
D. HUMPHREYS.

The President of the U. S.

Etc. Etc. Etc.¹

On September 17, 1793, accompanied by Capt. Cutting, Col. Humphreys sailed from Lisbon for Gibraltar. When he reached that fortress he was confronted with the astounding intelligence that a truce had been made between Portugal and Algiers, and that since the withdrawal of the patrol of vessels maintained by Portugal, keeping guard in the Straits, several cruisers had gone out into the Atlantic. Our Minister took prompt measures to have all American captains that could be reached, notified, and the intelligence spread widely. He thus comments upon this startling occurrence in a letter to the President:

¹ U. S. Archives, State Dept., Washington, D. C.

(Secret & confidential)

GIBRALTER Oct¹. 7th 1793.

MY DEAR SIR,

By my letters of yesterday & to-day to the Secretary of State, you will learn that the Algerines have concluded a Truce with the Portuguese and that the Algerine fleet has gone into the Atlantic. I think they would not have passed the Streights with all their force, without having *much better Pilots* than usual.

In dreading the consequences of surprize to our vessels, I have taken all the means in my power to avert them by giving the most expeditious & extensive notice to our Countrymen possible.

Conscious as I am, that not a moment has been lost, or exertion withheld on my part, in attempting the accomplishment of your wishes; I entreat in all events you will be persuaded of my perseverance in the same line of conduct. Should every attempt be abortive (as there is but too much reason to fear) perhaps circumstances may occur, which would render it useful to the Public for me to return for a short time to America, to communicate or suggest in an oral manner, what could not absolutely be so well done by any other means. On that contingency you might possibly not think it improper to have a discretionary leave of absence lodged for me at Lisbon. Of this, however, you will judge and decide according to the superior lights with which your situation will furnish you.—For myself I do not certainly mention the matter, because I have any desire of returning to America—for I declare most solemnly, I have no personal interest, or wish, on the subject.

With sentiments of the sincerest affection for all around you, I remain my dear Sir,

Your most faithful friend & Hble Servant,
D. HUMPHREYS.

The President of the U. S. of America,

Etc. etc. etc.¹

¹ U. S. Archives, State Dept., Washington, D. C.

After attending to the unsettled accounts of Mr. Barclay and securing for the Government the property intended for presents in Morocco, Col. Humphreys proceeded to Alicante, the seaport of the province of Valencia, Spain, and nearly opposite Algiers. It was proposed by him to cross over to Algiers in a special vessel and at once attend to the work of effecting a treaty and ransoming the captives. But here there was for him another disagreeable and perplexing surprise in the absolute refusal of the Dey to allow a United States Commissioner to land within the Regency controlled by him. He gives to the President in this letter the unforeseen events of his mission. It will thus be seen by the following letter that now that Col. Humphreys has the sole management of the Algerine affairs in his hands how different are the recommendations he advocates.

He is clear cut in his advice. It is no less than the immediate creation by the United States of a naval force so as to enable it to declare war on the Corsairs, and the arousing of popular sentiment at home by the proclamation of a day of fasting and prayer throughout the country with the two-fold object to appeal to the Divine clemency for success in this war of liberation and of intercession on behalf of the prisoners and captives. The change in tone from the proceedings hitherto taken or rather suggested is remarkable.

(Duplicate)

Alicant Nov. 23rd 1793.

(Secret & confidential)

MY DEAR SIR,

By my letter of the 19th, to the Secry of State, & particularly by that of this date to him (of which I forward Duplicates) you will find that the Dey of Algiers has refused to grant a Passport for me to come to Algiers. All hopes of any accomodation by negotiation for the present are therefore at an end.

To use the Dey's own expression: "he would not treat with us, even if we were to lavish Millions."

It seems unfortunate that my full Powers had not arrived at the time or soon after, the notice did of their being in preparation, in order that an experiment of treating might have been made before these late innovations had taken place at Algiers; but it was exceedingly fortunate, arriving when they did, that I was obliged by the Instructions of the Secry of State to go to Gibralter to settle Mr. Barclay's accounts . . . otherwise the property of the U. S. now with us would in all probability have been lost and other disagreeable consequences might possibly have ensued.

It is now some consolation that the money is at hand to be applied (at least a part of it) to the immediate cloathing & comfort of our naked & distressed Countrymen, who are in captivity. . . . I hope & trust that my arrangements herein (which will be more fully explained in my next letter to the Secretary of State) will meet with your approbation; and that I may have the satisfaction of knowing that to be the case. That circumstance, in addition to the consciousness of having attempted to do my duty, will be the only compensation I can ever receive for no small portion of fatigue, anxiety & distress, that I have experienced in the course of this business.

When I arrive at Madrid I shall disclose the whole state of affairs to Mr. Carmichael & Mr. Short, and shall be influenced very much by their advice in respect to the ulterior measures which ought to be pursued. I need not mention to you my dear & most respected General that a naval force has now (to a certain degree) become indispensable; or that the future reputation of the U. S. in Europe & Africa will depend very much, and for a very great length of time, on the success of our fleet at its very first appearance on the Ocean. For this effect it will not, I am confident, escape your recollection that the *whole Nation* ought, from every sentiment of patriotism liberty & humanity, to be roused into exertion, *as one Man*. Whether, in the midst of such an afflicting national calamity the resources of Religion ought not to be called into our aid, by setting apart a day of solemn fasting & prayer throughout the U. S. to

implore the blessing of Heaven on our arms, and for the liberation of our fellow Citizens from Slavery, you can best determine. It will doubtless be thought expedient to publish some Proclamation Manifesto, or Statement of facts. Forceable truths sent home to mens' feelings are apt to have an effect. It is time to awaken mankind from the Lethargy of Ages.

How far considerable preparations can be made for offensive war, under a public idea of only furnishing Convoys to our Merchantmen, I do not know, but this would probably be the only way by which we could hope to catch some of the Corsairs separate, & perhaps out of the Mediterranean. I will not be remiss in my endeavours to make combinations with any nation in similar circumstances, & to keep you informed of the result. Adieu, my dear General and believe me, in offering my best respects to Mrs. Washington & our friends,

Your most affe^c and devoted Servant,
D. HUMPHREYS.

P.S. I leave the discussion of the policy & agency which brought about these inauspicious truces to a more convenient occasion.

This ought to be the time (& I hope to God it will) for extinguishing all the little effects of party spirit among ourselves.
D. H.

The President of the U. S. of America,¹ &c., &c.

All that could be done now was to open communication with the prisoners and the Swedish Consul, M. Mathias Skjoldebrand, who had been kind to the captives. Col. Humphreys had sent dispatches frequently to the Secretary of State using for their conveyance the safest and surest way. He detailed the events of the journey, his arrival at Gibraltar and his subsequent passage to Alicante. It was his intention to remain there until he had through

¹ U. S. Archives, State Dept., Washington, D. C.

Mr. Robert Montgomery, the American Consul at Alicante, made provision for the subsistence and clothing of the prisoners, and the relief of the captains from hard labour.

This was finally accomplished early in December when the Minister sent this dispatch to the Secretary of State:

No. 103.

To Secretary of State
&c. &c. &c.

ALICANT, December 7th. 1793.

SIR:—

We have been delayed here several days longer than we expected, but the uncommonly heavy rains which have fallen, together with the consequent swelling of the streams, and badness of the roads. We hope nothing will now intervene to impede our setting out on our intended journey, on the day after to-morrow, or on Tuesday at farthest.

In the meantime I have the honor to inclose to you the copies of my letters to several persons in Algiers, alluded to in my last. No opportunity having occurred to forward them at that time, they are dated some days afterward. To afford a better chance for their destination, duplicates have been prepared. I must not neglect to observe that it will be desirable (for the promotion of the public interest) that the pleasure of Government should be signified as soon as may be, to Mr. Montgomery with respect to continuing, or changing, the temporary arrangement which has been made for the subsistence of our citizens now prisoners at Algiers. I hope that the sentiments which I have been induced from circumstances to offer on other topics, will not be thought by Government improper or unreasonable. The copies of my letters are marked No. 1 to M. Skjoldebrand Consul General of Sweden, No. 2 to Pierre Eric Skjoldebrand Esq. No. 3 (secret & confidential) to Capt. O'Brien, No. 4 to Captain O'Brien and the other Captains and Prisoners at Algiers, and No. 5 To the Mariners, Citizens of the United States of America, Prisoners at Algiers.

I have nothing farther to add, Sir, but the very disagreeable intelligence, that three more vessels belonging to the United States have been carried into Algiers making the whole number of American prizes thirteen, on the 23d of last month. But I have not been able to learn the names of the Captains or vessels, or to what Ports they belonged.

With Sentiments of great esteem, and consideration I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your Most Obedt & Most hum. Servant,
D. HUMPHREYS.¹

The letters enclosed are of great interest. In that to the Swedish Consul which was written on November 29, 1793, Col. Humphreys after acknowledging his letter and courtesy says:

It would be as unreasonable in itself as it would be foreign to my fashion of thinking, to express or desire that you should commit yourself, or nation, by interfering in any possible exceptional manner in the affairs of another nation amidst the evil times and jealous circumstances on which we have unhappily fallen. Knowing, therefore, as I do not only your disposition but your conduct I consider you not the less entitled to the heartfelt thanks of myself and my countrymen. I will only venture to solicit the continuance of your humane protection to the unfortunate citizens of the United States of America, prisoners in Algiers, so far as there may be no impropriety, or inconsistency, with your official duty in affording it.

In the letter to the brother of the Swedish Consul he says that he was "incapable of abusing confidence you have so generously reposed in me." He requests him to send the paper enclosed for Capt. O'Brien and others "that he may be familiar with circumstances hitherto unknown." He then proceeds: "I will candidly inform

¹ U. S. Archives, State Dept., Washington, D. C.

you that it having been absolutely impossible for anybody in America to have foreseen that any circumstances would occur which could induce the Dey to refuse to permit the commissioners of the United States to go to Algiers and treat verbally on the subject of peace, the Executive has not authorized me to delegate my powers to any person under any contingency whatever." The negotiation has assumed a different aspect altogether since the powers were granted.

Col. Humphreys must now consult with the other Commissioners at Madrid, "Messrs. Short and Carmichael, my intimate friends," and then by a safe channel convey a letter to him. He comments on the intelligent and proper manner "in which Mr. Skjoldebrand had acted in the matter," and with his "reasonable and well grounded" counsel for the future he closes. It was arranged that Mr. Montgomery should open a correspondence with him. He "will repay any monies advanced, refund monies expended for intelligence and other necessary contingent charges."

He apologizes for writing in English which is more necessary than for his correspondent to apologize for writing in French; "for although it is perfectly convenient for me to receive letters written in French and some other foreign languages yet I find myself necessitated to make use of that in my answers in which alone I can express my ideas with any tolerable precision."

In the letter written to Capt. O'Brien he is glad that his letter to the Swedish Consul is approved.

If not now great, or formidable, I trust the seeds of greatness and strength are sown in our land and that with the smiles of a Good Providence in spite of our unmerited enemies, they will soon grow to such maturity as shall make mankind rather chuse to have us for their friends than their foes.

He says that the Captain can judge from the enclosed letter and memorial the agency he has exercised in Algerine affairs. But he had full knowledge from the beginning of the captivity of the efforts, made largely in secret, to redeem them, because the nation was unable to pay an enormous ransom, and yearly tribute. Many letters that were consoling and useful miscarried. Col. Humphreys details several of the attempts to make terms for their release. Had it not been for the danger it would have brought on the residue of our seamen by exciting the cupidity of the Corsairs against them the first prisoners taken would have been redeemed long ago without any regard to the price whatever. Money has been no object with the United States.

Mr. Jefferson who when at Paris desired to redeem them at once and the present writer "have not ceased to work in your behalf." The truce with Portugal is misunderstood in Algiers. Portugal would never buy a peace for three million of dollars. He enforces the statement by a quotation from "a principal minister of Portugal," and the conversation between the Minister of Marine and Algerine Ambassador; "If he made a peace he would do well, but if he did not he would do better." His argument is long, ingenious, and clear.

Views and interests foreign to those of Portugal must have prevailed in forming truce and letting loose the Algerine Corsairs (with such meditated and extraordinary secrecy) to hunt after the Americans in the Atlantic. For it could never be the interest of the Portuguese to suffer their supplies of grain from the United States to be interrupted. But of this cruel policy of attempting to injure the United States you will readily suppose I know more than it would be prudent to write.

You and your fellow sufferers will be glad to know that all

of your far-seeing^x friends are not likely to fall as a sacrifice to this cruel policy. Fourteen of our vessels sailed from Lisbon on the 11th instant under a strong Portuguese convoy, and ten sailed from Cadiz on the 6th with a Spanish West Indian convoy.

While Captain O'Brien's counsels are judicious they require great immediate expenditures of money. "Those at the head of American affairs will know what is best to be done and conduce to the public good. Their wisdom and patriotism can be relied on."

A brief letter to the captains and officers in captivity expresses the personal sympathy of the Commissioner for them. As he has written fully to Capt. O'Brien, he can "only give them some portion of that conversation the more difficult to administer the more it is wanted." The refusal of the Dey to allow Col. Humphreys to visit Algiers makes the task harder. Mr. Montgomery has been charged with providing a comfortable suit of clothes for each of them, and a suitable dress for each seaman.

They are to receive subsistence at the rate of eight dollars a month for the Captains and six dollars a month for the mates and twelve cents a day for each of the mariners. No more can be allowed without further order of the Government. In conclusion he commends them to God's holy keeping.

In an address, "To the Mariners, Citizens of the United States now prisoners at Algiers," he bids them to keep up hope,—the country feels for them. Through Mr. Montgomery they will receive clothing and subsistence.

"The estimate of the expense for clothing one officer and one seaman of the citizens of the United States prisoners at Algiers" is a document worth reproducing. It forms an enclosure to a dispatch of Col. Humphreys:

^x A probable slip of the pen by copyist for "sea-faring."

2½ yards cloth for a coat faced with the same	Rv	68
30 pr. yard		8
Pocket, back and sleeve-linings		8
Buttons, hem and thread		8
1¾ yards of same cloth for waistcoat & breeches the former hanging sleeves		52½
Lining and Buttons for ditto		16
Making coat, vest and breeches		45
1 pair of long Trousers of strong linen		22
2 pair of stockings		32
2 ditto shoes		52
2 shirts		75
1 hat		20
		—
		398½
For an Officer, Mexican	\$	19.18½
2 pairs long Trousers	Rv	44
2 shirts		70
2 pairs of shoes		50
1 hat		20
2 frocks		90
1 jacket with sleeves & a pair of breeches		68½
For a seaman, Mexican	\$	17.22

When all these letters were written and the supplies ordered, Col. Humphreys left Alicante for the Court of Madrid, on Thursday, December 12, where he arrived on Saturday, December 21. He wrote on December 25 to the Secretary of State, telling of his final arrangements for the comfort of the American prisoners. Only eleven American vessels had been taken by the Algerines. The account of the attitude of the Dey to Denmark and Sweden gives reason for a conjecture that the combined powers may have an agency in this business. The departure of Mr. Pierre E. Skjoldebrand was most unfortunate for us. A letter written in bad Spanish with a mixture of Lingua Franca and in an almost illegible hand had been received

by Mr. Montgomery from Mr. Bussara of Algiers. It was evidently intended for an application for employment by the United States. The writer claimed that the Dey did not believe that the United States had appointed two Commissioners who had died, and claimed that no other agent than Mr. Bussara would be recognized by the Dey. The Minister gives a tragic account of the suicide of Mr. Dodsworth at Gibraltar induced by the Dey's declaration that he should not return to Algiers as Vice-Consul.

There is reason to believe that, despite Capt. O'Brien, Portugal would not make peace with Algiers. A letter from the United States Consul at Malaga reports that instead of the Algerine squadron retiring from Gibraltar it had been reinforced "last week with two sail of the line and three Capital Frigates. It was now ten sail." Mr. Simpson wrote from Gibraltar that five American vessels had sailed under the convoy of a Portuguese frigate.

"Lord St. Helens told Mr. Short and myself yesterday that the Portuguese Chargé d' affaires here said at his table the day before that Portugal would not give sixpence for a peace with Algiers." Col. Humphreys then again gives utterance of his opinion, which he had formed independently, and which is one of the earliest suggestions for an American navy.

It is absurd to trust to the fleets of other nations to protect and convoy our trade. If we mean to have a commerce we must have a naval force to a certain extent to defend it. Besides the very semblance of this would tend more towards enabling us to maintain our neutrality in the actual critical state of affairs in Europe than all the declarations, reasonings, concessions and sacrifices that can possibly be made.

Denmark, Sweden, and even Genoa have as yet taken no hostile part, and although less able than the United States, maintain a naval force.

Colonel Humphreys states that there is no place more difficult to obtain true information from than Madrid. Spain had been under the influence of London but there had of late been some coldness on account of the tone of the declaration of the King of England and the refusal of allowing the French fleet to be brought from Toulon to Carthagena.

Lord St. Helens, who had possessed such influence with the Court, had been transferred from Spain to Holland. "Mr. Jackson, an impetuous young man full of English prejudices is left as Minister Plenipotentiary who cannot do his nation much service, or as much injury, as the other." France

presented the same awful and bloody spectacle which it had done for a long time past. The combined powers have made no impression, and conquest is far distant. The Spanish army on the frontiers of Catalonia is rumored to have gained a signal victory over the French. The Spanish Consul at Toulon reports the troops are naked, forlorn and sickly. Part of the Portuguese troops who have been in action behaved extremely well and had about four hundred wounded. The Portuguese troops in Spain are sickly.

So many reports from Toulon are in circulation that there is no knowing what to believe in general. Certain it is as to one particular that General O'Hara, her commander-in-chief at the head of the regiment from Gibraltar and the choice of the garrison made a sortie in order to take up a position from which the town was much annoyed. The French are said to have been repulsed at first until the British in the sequel were nearly surrounded, and finally retired with very considerable loss. Many officers are known by name to have been killed and wounded among the former was Major Snow (the adjutant General of the army with whom I was acquainted) among the latter General O'Hara who was not only wounded but taken prisoner, General O'Riley, who formerly commanded against Algiers is now named by the

Court and sent out with all possible dispatch to command at Toulon.

It is not believed by persons of intelligence at this Court, as Mr. Ran, formerly Chargé des affaires in the United States, now Intendant of Louisiana, told me, that Toulon can hold out during the winter unless with a garrison of 40,000 men. Its garrison at present consists of half that number. It is reported that the United States and other neutral powers will be forced by the Continental powers to declare in favor or against the allied powers. A meeting of the British parliament must be awaited before deciding.

There was enclosed in this letter one from Capt. O'Brien at Algiers written on December 6th. In it he gives this estimate of the demands of the Dey for a peace with Portugal:

For the Treasury of the Regency.....	\$1,200,000
For the Dey and family.....	600,000
Algerine ministry, Ambassadorial and complimentary presents, about.....	600,000

This did not include the ransom of Portuguese captives.

The brig *Minerva* of New York had been taken on the second cruise of the Corsairs. There were now one hundred and two American prisoners. The Dutch truce had been prolonged for three months.

Six months were to be allowed before the Dey makes war on Sweden, as the presents have not arrived.

The only way for the United States is to send ten sail, forty gun frigates, six brigs of war, eighteen guns, four schooners or cutters of sixteen guns each, to be the fastest sailing vessels ever built in America, well appointed and manned to proceed towards Gibraltar, Algazier and Mahone^x there to rendezvous and carry on a regular offensive warfare.

This will give more security than the Portuguese marine.

^x Algeciras and Port Mahon are most probably the places meant.

If not done the corsairs of Algiers and Tunis will remain masters of the Western Ocean.

He gives an estimate of the Algerine fleet, then "eleven sail mounting forty-four guns to twelve. Only one is out at sea; that of Tunis had twenty-three sail mounting from twenty-four guns to four." He comments on the distress of the captives, "perhaps unprecedented in the annals of tyranny." "They must see their error now too late. I had forewarned them of this misfortune, but man in adversity is paid little or no attention to."

Col. Humphreys returned to Madrid in January, 1794, and soon after had an audience with Chevalier de Pinto in regard to the truce with Algiers. The substance of it he wrote to both the Secretary of State and the President. This letter to General Washington, marked "secret and confidential," states clearly the position of Portugal and her real friendliness to the United States.

(Secret & confidential)

LISBON Jan. 31st 1794.

MY DEAR SIR,

Immediately after my return from Spain I asked an audience of Mr. Pinto the Secretary of State for foreign affairs for the purpose of learning decisively, whether the Truce between Portugal & Algiers was likely to be improved into a Peace, or not. Yesterday I waited upon him, and with as much delicacy as I was master of endeavoured to give an opening for him to explain himself on the subject, which he did nearly to the following effect.

He began by saying that with the candour he had always professed to me, he had no difficulty in explaining the whole rise & progress of the transactions between Portugal and Algiers to this time. That, although Portugal is not engaged at all in the war with France, yet it is obliged by Treaty to furnish Contingents to England & Spain on the occasion of

their being attacked . . . this event having happened, Portugal found it convenient to be disengaged of her Enemy in the Mediterranean in order to withdraw her fleet from Gibralter & employ her marine force elsewhere without augmenting the expenses of Government; that, therefore, through the British Minister at this Court the British Consul at Algiers had been desired to sound the Regency on the subject of a Peace; that a consequent report having been made from Algiers that the Dey demanded four or five Millions of Cruzadoes for a Peace (which being entirely contrary to the system of Portugal) the affair was given up; but that a short time afterwards, without any previous informations or instructions, the said British Consul concluded a Truce on the part of Portugal for one year, even without the knowledge, & contrary to the wishes of this Court; that the affair being thus situated, different communications have been made, and that this Court has lately insisted upon a categorical answer to the Alternative, either that the Truce shall be annulled or a Peace take Place upon perfectly equal terms, according to the original system of Portugal.

Mr. Pinto mentioned, that the following in substance are a part of the conditions peremptorily insisted upon by Portugal, viz; No money whatever shall be paid to the Government of Algiers for a Peace by way of tribute or presents, and, in case of a Peace, three Months shall be allowed for Portugal to give information of it to all commercial Nations with which it is connected before the fleet of Algiers shall be permitted to come into the Atlantic. Besides this, no vessels coming to or going from Portugal, or others within a certain limited distance from its coasts, shall ever be captured by the Corsairs; or in case of capture, shall be restored, the Captors paying the damages of detention. The Dey has also been informed, that until these terms shall be agreed upon, the Portuguese Government will use means to protect all vessels trading to that Kingdom.

No one can hesitate to conclude that these terms (which are entirely conformable to what the same Minister had formerly declared to me) will be rejected by the Dey. In which case, the Minister of State observed, it will be necessary for Portugal

to maintain even a larger force than usual at Gibralter because the Algerines being piqued at the conduct of Portugal would undoubtedly endeavour to seek revenge by force, or surprize, and possibly to find their way into the Atlantic at all events. He added that this would occasion a heavy expence to be borne by Portugal alone, while other nations (particularly the U. S. of America) were likely to benefit equally by it; since it would not only be to protect their commerce to Portugal, but even to some parts of Spain. At the same time, he intimated, it would apparently be but just that those nations which were benefitted by the measure, should by subsidy, or in some way, or another, bear a part of the burden, as the Hanse Towns seemed well disposed to do.—I replied, that I could say nothing from authority, but that perhaps the event which had recently happened might tend to accelerate the period at which something of a Marine must be created by the U. S. in which case the U. S. would doubtless be glad to co-operate with any Powers which might have the same enemy to combat & the same objects in view but that, in my judgment the U. S. were rather in a natural state to be subsidized than to subsidy others, having more materials & men, than Money. He rejoined that, dropping the ideas of subsidy it would undoubtedly be desirable for any nations having a common enemy to act in concert. He expressed his opinion very unequivocally that the Truce would be broken off, though the Dey had hinted with much finesse that the original demands would be greatly abated and that he was seriously disposed to give a preference to Portugal over Holland & the U. S. of . . . both of which had at that moment proffered him immensely large sums of Money for a Peace. Mr. Pinto, however, finished by assuring me, that Portugal would give no money at all (except for the redemption of its subjects now Slaves in Algiers). He promised also he would let me know the result as soon as the Messenger last dispatched to Algiers shall return.

I thought it my duty to acquaint you with the substance of the conversation on the part of Mr. Pinto as nearly as I could comprehend & recollect it. You will perceive thereby that my original conjectures were not ill founded.

I had already (while in Madrid) endeavoured to sound some of the Ministers of the neutral Powers which have been menaced by a rupture with Algiers, but I found them not ripe for anything.

I took likewise the liberty (as a private person merely) of submitting the enclosed three Queries to the Minister of Genoa in Madrid. To the first & second he did not hesitate to answer in the affirmative. To the third, he found himself incompetent to give any opinion, but said that he would take measures for gaining information.

Having no time to lose before the sailing of the vessel which is to carry this letter, I hasten to subscribe myself, with offering my affectionate remembrances to all around you,

My dear & most respected Sir,

Your most affectionate & Most devoted Servant.

D. HUMPHREYS.

The President of the U. S. of America.

etc, etc, etc.¹

(Secret & confidential)

Queries

1st—In case the U. S. should send an armed force into the Mediterranean may they rely upon its being received with friendship & hospitality at Genoa?

2nd—Will Genoa combine any naval force & what, with any Powers that might be disposed to act in concert in repelling the hostile attacks of Algiers?

3rd—Whether in case Genoa should find it difficult or inconvenient to increase its marine of a sudden sufficiently to protect its Trade completely against the Algerines, it would take into its pay Ships of the U. S. or give a subsidy for enabling them to block the Corsairs in their harbours, & to what amount?²

In the month of January, 1794, the differences between Mr. Jefferson and Col. Hamilton had become so pro-

¹ U. S. Archives, State Dept., Washington, D. C.

² *Ibid.*

nounced and the situation of the former in every respect so unpleasant that he insisted upon his resignation being accepted by the President. This action was announced to American representatives abroad in a brief circular letter, the conclusion of which was altered to meet the respective degrees of intimacy of each representative with the late Secretary.

PHILADELPHIA Jan. 1794.

DEAR SIR,

I have the honor to inform you that I have resigned the office of Secretary of State & that Mr. Randolph late Attorney Genl of the U. S. is appointed by the President & approved by the Senate as Secretary of State. He will be so good as to acknowledge the receipt of your several letters not yet acknowledged by me, & will answer in detail such parts of them as may require special answer. I beg leave to conclude this last act of my public correspondence with you with very sincere assurances of the great esteem & respect with which I have the honor to be, Dear Sir,

Your most obedt & most humble servt.

TH. JEFFERSON.

COLONEL HUMPHREYS.¹

The delay of the vessel by which his letter of January was to be sent allowed Col. Humphreys to add a brief letter to the President in which several important matters were laid before him for consideration.

LISBON Febry 3rd, 1794.

MY DEAR SIR,

The Swedish vessel which was to have sailed with my last letter three days ago has been unexpectedly detained until this time.

I, therefore, take the liberty of addressing you again,

¹ U. S. Archives, State Dept., Washington, D. C.

principally with the object of recommending Mr. James Simpson, of Gibralter to be appointed Consul of the U. S. for that Port. This, I am the rather induced to do, because I think a Consul at that Place highly expedient & necessary, and because I know of no person there who appears to me by any means, so suitable & worthy of the appointment as that Gentleman. He has not only faithfully accounted for the various matters committed to him by the late Mr. Barclay, but he has spontaneously on many occasions given real assistance to the Masters of our vessels when they were in need of his services. He has, also, a considerable correspondence in Barbary & knowledge of the affairs in that Country. He is a British Subject & a Merchant, but so far as I can judge, he has demonstrated intelligence, fidelity and attachment to the U. S., wheresoever their interests or that of their Citizens has come within the sphere of his action or interference. Without touching on Consular appointments in general, I will just say in passing, I think that of Mr. Murphy at Malaga a very good one—he appears to be a very reliable Character.

Mr. Logie, late Consul of his Britannic Majesty at Algiers, arrived here the day before yesterday. Yesterday, a Merchant of the British Factory came to invite me to dine with him in company with Mr. Logie who, he said had expressed a wish of becoming acquainted with me. Whatever I might have felt, I could have wished a previous engagement had not prevented me from deriving all the intelligence possible from Logie. He is going to England by the Packet.—Since my last, two English Captains and a Dutch Captain, who lately made their escape from Prison at Brest arrived here. They assert that a fleet of eight sail of the Line with several frigates & armed vessels sailed on a secret expedition, on the 13th of last month that twenty one, or twenty-two, sail more were fit for Sea, riding at single anchor in that Port; that the People were much united & greatly animated by their late successes; & that Provisions were plenty & particularly that grain was in such abundance that the Churches were obliged to be occupied as Store Houses for receiving it.—This intelligence does not seem to be controverted even by the Aristocrates.

With sentiments of perfect esteem & respect I have the honour to be My dear Sir,

Your Affect^t friend & devoted Serv^t.

D. HUMPHREYS.

The President of the U. S., &c., &c., &c.

P. S. No Packet has yet arrived with the British King's speech.¹

During the spring of 1794 there was little which could be done in the complicated affairs of the Algerine captives.

The Dey was still obdurate and no further instructions had reached Col. Humphreys. The active and caustic pen of Capt. O'Brien wrote to our Minister and to the authorities at Washington many letters. Rumours, and rumours of rumours reached them, and they were bitter because the progress of the negotiations for their release were so slow. To one of these letters Col. Humphreys makes this sensible reply:

(Copy)

LISBON, May 18th 1794.

D. HUMPHREYS to CAPT.

RICH O'BRIEN at Algiers.

DEAR SIR,

In my letter of the 12th instant I have already anticipated the greater part of the observations, which it might otherwise have been necessary to make in answer to your continued letter in date from the 5th to the 12th of April, which has lately come to hand.

I have noted the contents of that letter with due attention, and entreat you will be persuaded that I will endeavour to do whatever I can in favour of yourself and your fellow sufferers, in my *private character*, in which *alone* I will receive, and acknowledge your communications with a degree of punctuality and precision of which you shall have no right to complain.

¹ U. S. Archives, State Dept., Washington, D. C.

My correspondence on Algerine affairs (from first to last) being all in the hands of the Government of the United States; the Government (to whom I have no business to dictate) will of course determine what is best to be done.

Should it be thought expedient to have any person kept in Algiers constantly authorized to treat on the part of the United States, measures will doubtless be taken for the purpose. I conceive myself to have no right to delegate the Powers with which I was formerly invested, which I consented to accept from motives of pure patriotism and philanthropy alone, and from the functions of which I now consider myself exonerated.

As an individual I may be allowed to say that I am extremely happy to hear the favourable expressions made use of by the Dey respecting a peace with the United States; as I conceive the accomplishment of that desirable event will depend very much on himself. I shall be glad to see and render services to Mr. Sloan if he should touch at Lisbon on his way to America.

It gives me much pleasure to hear that Mr. Skjoldebrand, Jun^r is soon expected to return to Algiers, as I have the greatest belief in that gentleman's abilities and goodness of heart.

The Document (which I have now for the first time received) respecting the ransom of George Smith shall be transmitted to the Executive. I have already written on that subject and your own since my last letter to you. Indeed you do me no more than Justice in being sensible of my wishes and endeavours to secure your interest. I will communicate to you without loss of time, whatever I may learn that shall be interesting to you.

I must still attempt to rectify the error you still persist in believing. Whatever individuals may have taken upon themselves to have done, in pretending to have been invested with Powers on the part of the Government of the United States to ascertain anything whatsoever with regard to the terms of a peace between Algiers and the United States: I must beg leave still to refer you to my communications of the 29th of November last, particularly to my secret and confidential letter of that date—and then assert, that the inter-

ference you allude to, in so delicate an affair, was made without the authority or even the knowledge, of the Government of the United States.

If anybody, besides those mentioned in my former letter, had any Commission or Instruction from the United States, to ascertain any terms whatsoever, let *them* be produced. If not, I pray you will have the goodness not to repeat anything more to me on that subject. I commiserate most sincerely the situation of our Citizen Captives in Algiers in the threatened calamity of the Plague; to whom I beg you will present my cordial good wishes.

With Sentiments of great regard & esteem, I am, Dear Sir,
Your most obedient & most hum Servant,

D. HUMPHREYS.

CAPT. RICD O'BRIEN,
Algiers.

In connection with the Algerine business, the following extracts from the Journal of Capt. Nathaniel Cutting of Massachusetts, Secretary to Col. Humphreys' Commission at Lisbon, have an interest, their accidental and personal references especially.

Sept. 11 1793—Colonel Humphreys called and informed us that he had received his passports from the Secretary of Foreign Affairs. He also took the occasion to urge the necessity of our prompt departure on many accounts; one of which is, that some people here [Lisbon] begin to suspect our intention is for Algiers. Colonel Humphreys earnestly recommends economy in our expenditures and accuracy in our accounts.—

They soon go to Gibraltar—are cordially received by the Governor and officers, by whom they are dined and invited to witness a review of troops.

On a Sunday in October, the troops of the garrison assembled for the public services of devotion. Colonel Morse, their Commander, was the representative of the Governor on the

occasion. They formed a hollow square, in the centre of which was the Chaplain, the officers of the garrison, Colonel Humphreys and myself. The services were of course conformable to the rites of the Established Church of England.

On October 14th, after doing what they could to warn American ships against Algerian pirates, they left Gibraltar:

We took leave of Gibraltar at 1 P.M.; quartered with Major Lyon, on our arrival at St. Roque. After taking coffee, the Major conducted us to the house of the General Commander-in-Chief of the Spanish Camp before Gibraltar. He received us very politely; and when he understood that we were Americans, he immediately burst into an eulogium of Gen. Washington. After saying many handsome things, he declared that it chagrined him exceedingly to reflect that now, being old, he must die without having seen Washington, whom he considered as one of the greatest characters who had ever lived. Being informed that Colonel Humphreys had been one of his aids-de-camps, had resided with him some time—with him after he resigned the command of the army and retired to private life, and that they now corresponded together, he took fresh occasion to say civil things; and at parting, said he must give the Colonel one embrace for Gen. Washington, which he did, and begged him to mention it in his next letter to that exalted character—the hero and the brightest ornament of the age.¹

The Commission next proceeded to Malaga and then to Albania, remarking on the country, vineyards and Moorish architecture, and later reached Alicante via Murcia. Having failed to do anything with the Dey of Algiers towards releasing American prisoners, they returned to Madrid in January, 1794, and on the 21st of that month were once more back in Lisbon.

The mission seeming to have been fruitless, especially

¹ *Historical Magazine*, vol. iv., p. 297 (October, 1860).
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as Portugal and Algiers had signed a truce, Cutting goes on to say, February 27, 1794:

Though, from that moment, it might naturally be concluded our mission would prove abortive; yet Colonel Humphreys, whose attachment to, and zeal in support of, the true interests of his Country, is not to be shaken by any common obstacles, thought it indispensably necessary we should proceed on our expedition as far as we could with any degree of safety to ourselves or prospect of advantage to the United States. . . . We therefore proceeded to Alicant by land, and dispatched an express boat to Algiers and in return received the haughty and insolent reply of the Dey to the person who acquainted him with our mission; and finally, of his utter refusal to receive Colonel Humphreys as Commissioner Plenipotentiary of the United States, or treat with him on any terms whatsoever. Colonel Humphreys, whose humanity was deeply interested on this occasion, naturally judged that his government, and citizens at large, would applaud the exercise of his discretionary power in applying such a sum to the immediate relief of the suffering prisoners as might prevent their sinking under the hardship which they must inevitably encounter. On mature deliberation it was thought proper to appropriate sixteen thousand dollars, as amply sufficient for one year, in the course of which time the United States could make such an arrangement as was necessary. If Colonel Humphreys had been so fortunate as to have arrived in the Country previous to the Portuguese truce being agreed on, he might possibly have retarded that event, or have contrived some means to prevent its immediate ill-consequences to the commerce of our Country; but I firmly believe now, that no logic or eloquence would have prevailed on the Dey to have agreed on a peace with the United States on any conditions prescribed by our Legislature; the pecuniary consideration was not sufficient:—no, not by some hundreds of thousands of dollars. I am informed that Sweden, when she lately adjusted her treaty with these pirates submitted to pay three hundred thousand dollars including presents, etc., and an annual tribute of thirty thousand more.

On May 21, 1794, Colonel Humphreys had the pleasure of wishing a pleasant voyage to the Minister Resident in the United States from Portugal and giving to him his personal letter of introduction to Washington.

LISBON May 21, 1794.

MY DEAR SIR,

I am confident it will not escape your recollection, that no Person of your acquaintance, has been more sparing, or cautious in introducing Strangers, or Others to your protection & good offices. But in the present instance, I feel myself justified in recommending to your particular notice & favor, the Chevalier de Freire, Minister Resident for Her Most Faithful Majesty to the United States.—His personal worth, the good will he has long manifested to the U. S., the excellent character of the Sovereign he represents, the favorable dispositions of that Sovereign, & the Nation, towards our Country, and the extreme kindness with which I have been received by all ranks of People from the highest to the lowest, are so many strong motives, which irresistibly conspire to make me wish he may be as well satisfied with my Country—as I am with his—With Sentiments of the Most sincere affection & respect I have the honor to be,

Your most devoted & humble Servt.,

D. HUMPHREYS.

President of the U. S.^x

The long forbearance of the government with Mr. Carmichael came to an end in the spring of 1794, when on May 28th Mr. Short was commissioned to succeed him as Minister Resident at the Court of Madrid. It was supposed that this appointment would be acceptable to Spain and that the delayed negotiations would now be completed. There seems to have been no consultation over this removal and the Secretary and President evi-

^x U. S. Archives, State Dept., Washington, D. C.

dently acted largely upon the fact that he was unequal mentally and physically for the position, as was shown in letters of Col. Humphreys and possibly others. Our Minister seems to have had no direct share in the final action.

The position of neutral nations had largely occupied his attention and he had conversed and corresponded with the diplomatic agents of Denmark and Sweden on the subject. The result is shown in this letter to the President:

LISBON June 28th 1794.

MY DEAR SIR,

By every opportunity which has occurred, I have endeavoured to keep you informed of the great events taking place in Europe, through the medium of my correspondence with the Secretary of State. While affairs have been growing every day more & more interesting and critical, I have had many conversations with the public Agents of Denmark & Sweden (who alone seem to be disposed to oppose resistance to the maritime aggressions of England) on the subject of mutual defense & assistance, in case our several nations should ultimately be forced to take a part in the present war. At the same time I gave them to understand, that my observations were merely those of a Private Person, and not in an official character; but that common sense must point out what was reciprocally beneficial. The Agents of those Nations here, I know, have written to their Courts on the subject. The Convention entered into between those two Courts is a great step. They seem (in spite of predictions to the contrary on account of supposed jealousies) to see & pursue their true interests. From the apparent firmness & wisdom of the Duke Regent of Sweden much is to be expected. Nor will the councils of Denmark be unenlightened, weak or impolitic, so long as the Comte Bernstorff (the present Minister) shall be at the head of them. All concur in giving the highest testimony to his integrity, ability & popularity.—The combined fleet of those two nations is ready for Sea. I cannot help thinking that a hearty concurrence between the neutral Powers would have a powerful influence on the actual political state of

Europe; that such a coalition would either prevent them from being driven involuntarily into hostility; or in all events enable them to support by arms their rights (which have been grossly insulted) as independent nations. In this point of view, I have perhaps considered such a *junction in common Cause* as more practicable & more important than many others have done: and endeavoured accordingly as an individual to contribute whatever might be in my power to pave the way for the accomplishment of such a combination. At least, it is no improbable event, that under their mediation, a general Peace may ultimately be established, when all parties are sufficiently tired of war, to think of negotiating. G. Britain is the only Power among the Allies, that seems in any condition to prosecute the war much longer, and, notwithstanding her immense private resources and the late splendid action at Sea,¹ it will be found, I believe, that the war will become more & more unpopular until its termination. The British Ministry seem indeed to be playing a desperate game, & there is no calculating how it will end.

Kosciusko is by the last accounts going on well. I dread, however, the result from the formidable force that will be opposed to the Poles. Unanimity is everything. If they hold out this Campaign, I trust the Insurrection will terminate in Independence. There is no estimating the efforts of Liberty urged by Desperation.

This letter will be delivered to you by Capt. Heysell commander of a Danish Ship, who is lately from France and appears to be an intelligent & respectable man; and as such I recommend him to your protection, he may also be able to give you some information.

With the best & purest wishes for the health & happiness of yourself, Mrs. Washington & all that are most dear to you, I have the honour to be with every grateful sentiment,

My dear & respected Sir,

Your most affectionate friend & humble Servt.

D. HUMPHREYS.

¹ Colonel Humphreys here refers to the victory won off Brest by Lord Howe and always called "The Glorious First of June."

P. S. I enclose a Copy of Lord Howe's official letter, respecting the naval action of the 1st inst., we have no farther particulars to be depended upon.

The President of the United States of America.^x

On June 30th he wrote at length upon the relations between England and Portugal and the negotiation of a new treaty between those nations. So important did he deem it that he put the most essential portion in cypher.

(Secret & Confidential)

LISBON, June 30th 1794.

MY DEAR SIR,

Before this shall arrive you will probably have received information from Mr. Pinckney, that a new Treaty has some time since concluded in London between G. Britain & Portugal. I knew that such a measure was attempted a year ago by the British Minister here, without effect. The above mentioned Treaty negotiated by Lord Grenville & Don John de Almeida (the Portuguese Minister in London) must have been known in London much sooner than here, for it was not until yesterday that I could obtain a sight of it.

The Treaty in question, is not in name offensive and defensive, although it is nearly so in reality. For this purpose it required little more than to renew the different clauses which are to be found in the ancient Treaties between the two nations. But there are some articles expressed in terms so offensive to the existing Government of France, as to give sufficient ground for the declaration of war on their part, whensoever the policy of that country shall decide, that it will be more convenient to be in hostility than at peace with Portugal.

At a time when so many contingencies may prevent letters

^x U. S. Archives, State Dept., Washington, D. C.

from reaching their destination, it might be imprudent if not unprofitable, to speak largely of the Partizans of G. Britain in this Country, or the particular influence which this negotiation was carried on. Suffice it to say that

it occasioned warm debates in council when concluded. That the minister of marine by whose nephew it was negotiated was the great supporter of it; that he is the strongest advocate for a connection with Great Britain & that he & being very old cannot live long that the more liberal part of the nation & particularly the youth—spurn at that humiliating connection. The Prince observe principal of the ministry seem not to have firmness enough to resist measures which they do not fully approve. If Great B. meets with bad success Portugal will shew its strong hatred. If not it negative becomes more a province than it has been.^x

If this Treaty should result in a war it would be generally considered here as the most disadvantageous event which would happen to the Country.

The usual System of procrastination, indecision & postponing has on former occasions been of infinite use in keeping the nation out of war. They grew rich during the American war. Their prosperity has been continually increasing during the present war.

Two days ago I had an interview with the Secry of State for foreign affairs—in the course of conversation he told me that the Court of London was satisfied with what this Court had done interrupting the Truce with Algiers.—Upon my putting him in mind of my Memorial of the 8th of March he said, that circumstances had hitherto prevented an answer being given, that the Chev^r de Freire had actually (after much difficulty) engaged a vessel to carry him to the U. S. that after having in consequence of his arrival had some preliminary informations,

^x The part in italics represents the portion that was in cypher.

To this imperfect decyphering of the text is added the special note of the Secretary to General Washington who originally decyphered the dispatch. "The key will make nothing more of these figures."

he (that Minister of State) should be very ready & happy to take the subject up, and that in the meantime he could assure me of the good dispositions & sincere desires of this Court to meet those of the U. S. in strengthening the ties & forming the friendly connections between the two Countries. I report nearly the expressions, in order that by comparing facts & observations a judgment may be formed.

To-day, or to-morrow, a Portuguese fleet of four Ships of the Line, one frigate & two Brigs is to sail, destiny unknown, but probably part or all for England.

Admiral Melvil with the Dutch fleet is still here waiting for orders.

I entreat you will be persuaded that I shall use my utmost endeavours to comply with your wishes as expressed in the letter of the Secry of State of May 10th.

With the purest sentiments of veneration, & esteem, I have the honour to be, My dear Sir,

Your most faithful friend & devoted Servt.

D. HUMPHREYS.

The Cypher is that which was received by Mr. Barclay at Cadiz Decr 24, 1793. That is, the Cypher for Algerine Affairs. One of your Secretaries, by borrowing the Key or Counterpart from Mr. Randolph can readily decypher the figures. I should have addressed that part to the Sect^y of State, but that by being deposited in his office it might be open to the inspection of many.—

The President of the U. S. of America,
etc. etc. etc.^x

The affairs of the American embassy moved on smoothly. There was no cessation of the cordial good will to the American Republic expressed so often by the Portuguese minister. The harbour of Lisbon was filled with American vessels with cargoes which sold at a good profit. It was Col. Humphreys' work to see that this commercial ad-

^x U. S. Archives, State Dept., Washington, D. C.

vantage should continue, and that markets should be made for other American products; but especially flour. He was also to use every suitable opening to urge upon Portugal either the ratification of the treaty of commerce and amity formerly drafted or a new one acceptable to both nations.

The new Regent of Portugal was showing an unexpected ability. Monsieur de Pinto was guiding skilfully all affairs of state and the poor Queen was still in retirement with her books of devotion and her confessors and attendants. It was possible then for Col. Humphreys to gather, as he did successfully, the news of Europe, and to give his attention to the annoying and humiliating relation of the United States with the arrogant Dey of Algiers. The large number of Americans held in bondage had aroused not only the Colonel's sympathy, but his indignation. This he expressed in his unofficial communications with the prisoners, and in private conversation. He wrote and published a statement and appeal for sympathy in several of the American newspapers under his own signature. It was a great joy to him when any one of the prisoners either from his own funds or by the exertions of friends was ransomed, but it was also a reflection upon the very deliberate manner in which Congress, although urged to prompt action, took up the subject, debated upon it, and allowed many favourable opportunities to pass by. Final definite action was taken in the fall of 1794. It was, probably, hastened by Capt. Burnham, whom Col. Humphreys thus introduced:

LISBON Augst 30th 1794.

MY DEAR & RESPECTED SIR,

Captain Burnham, who will have the honour of delivering this letter was commander of the first American Ship captured

by the Algerines in Oct^r. last. He has lately been ransomed for 4000 Dollars paid by himself through the medium of the Dutch Admiral who concluded the treaty of Peace between Holland & Algiers. Captain Burnham will be able to give you a good deal of information on Algerine affairs. Although he was born in the same state with myself, I had not the pleasure of his acquaintance, until since his return from Captivity. By what little I know of him personally, & from hear-say, he appears to be an active intelligent & respectable man. As he judges it not improbable that he may wish to be employed as a Lieutenant in one of the Frigates now building by the U. S., for the protection of their Commerce against the Algerines, I could not hesitate in giving him this introduction to you, as my friend; taking the liberty at the same time, to refer you as President to the testimonies, which may be given in favour of Capt^a Burnham by Mr. Mitchel & Col^o Chester who must be well acquainted with him as being born in the same Town. If the information of those Gentlemen & others, better acquainted with him than I am, should represent him as adequate to the office which he may solicit (as I have great reason to suppose will be the case) I have no doubt, that his particular knowledge, situation and sufferings will be thought to contribute not a little in giving him some claim to public notice.

With sentiments of perfect respect, & esteem,

I have the honour to be,

Your Most devoted & Most humble Servant,

D. HUMPHREYS.

The President of the United States,

etc. etc. etc.¹

The inculcation of a spirit of patriotism among those who were temporarily absent from their native country for business or pleasure was regarded by Col. Humphreys as a bounden duty. Young as the nation was, despised as she still was by some of the powers of Europe, he thought

¹ U. S. Archives, State Dept., Washington, D. C.

it necessary to take advantage of every opportunity to bring Americans together on the national days, while they were residing or travelling abroad.

With his deep reverence for Gen. Washington, and sincere love of country, Col. Humphreys planned and carried through admirably the earliest, or one of the earliest, celebrations of Washington's birthday held in Europe. *The Columbian Centinel* of Boston had the following paragraphs in its issue of May 17, 1794:

From LISBON:

Capt. Abrahams, arrived here yesterday from Lisbon, communicated to the editor the following particulars of the celebration of the birth-day of *The President* of the *United States* on the 22d of February last.

Febr. 22, 1794.

This being the natal day of *The President* of the *United States*, the same was celebrated at the House of the Minister of the *United States of America*. After dinner the following toasts were given:—

- 1—The President of the United States,—Long life, health and happiness to him.
- 2—The Queen and Royal Family of *Portugal* and prosperity to the land we live in.
- 3—All the powers in alliance and friendship with the United States of *America*.
- 4—The Congress of the United States of *America*.
- 5—The different branches of the Executive of the United States of *America*.
- 6—The Judicial of the United States of *America*.
- 7—Prosperity to the Individuals of the United States of *America, one and indivisible forever*.
- 8—The morals and political virtues of the People of the United States of *America*.

9—Industry and enterprize of the people of the United States.

10—A speedy and glorious termination to the Indian war.

11—As much rational liberty to mankind as they are capable of enjoying.

12—Effectual protection to American citizens by sea and land.

13—Eternal gratitude and glory to the officers and seamen who shall render the name of the United States as terrible to their Enemies on the ocean as their cause is just in itself.

14—Our fellow citizens in captivity at *Algiers*—and a speedy release to them.

15—The fair DAUGHTERS of COLUMBIA.

While the company were at table they received the following polite note from an English Nobleman who had company dining with him at his hotel in the same street.

"The Earl of ALTAMONT and his company have the honour of drinking General WASHINGTON'S health with earnest wishes that the world may long continue benefitted by his wisdom and virtues."

This produced on the part of the American company an expression of sensibility, the politeness and the sentiment of perpetual *friendship and good offices between Great-Britain and the United States of America*.

During the entertainment the arms of the *United States* had been fixed to remain over the door of the Minister's house, which circumstance occasioned a volunteer by Mr. Church, Consul of the United States: "May the foes of COLUMBIA soon become a prey to the Columbian eagle."

Volunteer by Mr. Cutting: "The great family of mankind."

Volunteer by Captain Downs: "May the World Soon court the smiles of Columbia."

To crown the feast of reason with more than the barren sentiment of philanthropy, or fruitless tear of sensibility a subscription opened some time before among the humane and charitable of all descriptions was compleated to the amount of

1000 dollars for the use and comfort of the citizens of the *United States* in captivity in *Algiers*. The money has actually been forwarded to its destination. And the Americans in *Lisbon* said unto their fellow citizens of the United States —Go ye and do likewise.¹

¹ *Columbian Sentinel*, Boston, Saturday, May 17th, 1794.

CHAPTER XI

Humphreys and the Barbary Corsairs

Results of Humphreys' Dispatches and Appeals—Ransom Money Voted by Congress—Humphreys Determines to See President in Person and Obtain Oral Instructions—Leaves for America—Announces his Arrival to the President—Dispatch of Secretary of State Crosses him at Sea—Humphreys Requests Col. Walker to Inform him as to Ships Sailing to the Peninsula—His Return without Permission Criticized—After Conference with President and Secretary of State is instructed to Proceed Direct to Paris—His Letters to the President and Secretary of State on the Eve of his Sailing—Mr. Donaldson Invested by Humphreys with Powers to Investigate Condition of Affairs in Algiers—Application to French Government Made for Aid—Joel Barlow Appointed to Negotiate with Dey of Algiers—Sets out for Algiers—Meanwhile Donaldson had Made a Treaty with Dey—Release of Captives—Humphreys Receives O'Brien Hospitably—Resignation of Mr. Randolph as Secretary of State—Appointment of Mr. Pickering Temporarily—Letters of Mr. Pickering on the Algerine Matters—O'Brien Entrusted with Dispatches—Appointment of Humphreys as Minister Plenipotentiary to Court at Madrid—And of Quincy Adams to Lisbon—Humphreys Directed to Remain at Lisbon till he can Conclude Negotiations with the Corsairs—Instructions of Secretary of State for Col. Humphreys and Mr. Quincy Adams—Pickering's Letters to Humphreys on the Algerine Treaty and its Possible Modification.

AT last the work done by Humphreys had borne fruit. What with his remonstrances and exhortations, official and private, to the President and Secretary of State and his appeals to the public to help in the liberation of the Captive Americans, Congress was roused from its supine lethargy. Conviction was forced on it that

half measures and haggling over terms were as useless as they were unbecoming to a great nation.

A navy was projected. The problem was, how, during the building of the vessels, to ensure absolute protection to our ships trading in the Mediterranean.

While the amount of money needed to ransom our fellow-countrymen was enormous for that day, and the credit of the United States had already been largely pledged, it was at last recognized that money, no matter how large the amount might be, had to be a second consideration. The first was the liberation of the captives and the removal of the blot on the fair fame of the nation. Europe had looked on in amazement upon a nation that could only chaffer when the lives of its citizens were in peril.

The sum of eight hundred thousand dollars was, therefore, placed at the disposal of Col. Humphreys, whose previous powers as Commissioner were renewed and confirmed. But the Dey, after the ten years of negotiation and the comparatively exhausted condition of his treasury, had grown insistent and impatient. He desired immediate payment of a large sum and an annual tribute. This could only come about when he withdrew from his former haughty attitude of refusal to treat with the United States or receive any overtures from them. This was intimated to Col. Humphreys who could not answer favourably as no funds were in his hands for ransom or a treaty. The ratification of a treaty with Morocco had been delayed, as the bills drawn for the usual gratuities to the viziers and favourites of the Emperor had been protested. Col. Humphreys had, early in 1794, spoken of the advisability of a temporary return to the United States to lay before the authorities a true and exact account of Algerine and other matters committed to him for adjustment.

He felt that there had been enough delays. That waiting for dispatches which, in turn, might have to be answered, would open up a tedious correspondence which could only end in failure. The only way by which the results his patriotic soul longed for could be brought about was for him to go in person to America, see the President, and come back armed with full and definite powers to enable him to be prepared for whatever contingencies might arise. He courageously determined to go without leave, sure that the rectitude of his conduct would approve itself to his old General.

Humphreys, as we have before seen, was never afraid to take upon himself responsibility when the occasion demanded it. On November 27th he wrote to the Chevalier de Pinto requesting an interview:

No. 4.

LISBON, Novr. 27th 1794.

D. HUMPHREYS to LUIZ PINTO DE SOUZA &c.

SIR,

When I had the honour of applying to your Excellency for a Passport, some days ago, I expected to have gone directly to Gibraltar. Since that period circumstances have intervened, which render it expedient for me to proceed in the first instance to the U. S. of America. I waited upon your Excellency the day before yesterday in hopes of having had a personal interview for the purpose of imparting this change *viva voce*; but being precluded by your Excellency's ill health from that mode of communication, I hasten to communicate it in writing accordingly. It will give me much anxiety to be obliged to leave the vessels belonging to the U. S. of America now in this Port, under the peculiar embarrassments stated in my letter of the 25th. inst and particularly the Ship Washington in the possession of an armed force, consisting of soldiers in the Service of Her most Faithful Majesty.

Any answer which your Excellency may be pleased to give to my letter of the 25th. inst I request may be addressed to Mr. Church, Consul of the U. S. in Portugal; he being of course encharged with the affairs of the U. S. during my absence, as I before had the honour of intimating to your Excellency.

As the hour of embarkation is drawing near it only remains for me to thank Your Excellency for all your polite and prompt attentions to the U. S. as well as to myself personally, to ask your commands, and to reiterate the assurance of the real and great esteem and consideration, with which

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient and most humble Servant

D. HUMPHREYS.

HIS EXCELLENCY LUIZ PINTO DE SOUZA,
Minister & Secretary of State &c., &c., &c.¹

On obtaining his passports he sailed from Lisbon early in November, reaching Newport in February, 1795. He immediately announced his arrival to the President, following his letter in person.

NEW PORT (RHODE ISLAND)
Feby 3d 1795.

MY DEAR & RESPECTED SIR,

I seize the earliest moment to inform you of my safe arrival here (after a most disagreeable passage of sixty-one days) on the very urgent & important business, stated in my last three letters from Lisbon (Nos. 149, 150 & 151), to the Secretary of State. I hope the originals will have reached him; or, if they should have miscarried, that the copies (which I forwarded at Sea, on the 28th of Jany, by a vessel bound to New York) will have come to hand. As I am, at this instant hastening my departure for Philadelphia I have it not in my power to make other Copies. I can therefore only repeat in brief (what I have explained in detail in the before mentioned letters) that

¹ U. S. Archives, State Dept., Washington, D. C.
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the annunciation on the part of the Dey of Algiers of his readiness to treat with us, and the embarrassment for the immediate want of funds, together with the critical State of Affairs in Morocco and the want of funds for that business (the Bills for that purpose having been protested) are the occasion of my hastening thus to state verbally the real situation of things with regard to the Barbary States; and to receive your ultimate orders thereon. I feel such a consciousness of having acted from motives of duty alone, and in the manner which I believed in the sincerity of my Soul most likely to promote the public interests, that I cannot but hope my conduct will meet with your approbation. That approbation, in conjunction with that consciousness of the purity of my intentions, will be an ample compensation for all the fatigues & hazards which I have encountered.

With hopes of soon being able to explain myself more fully, and with the purest sentiments of affection, esteem & gratitude
I have the honour to remain My dear & respected Sir,

Your most aff^d friend & Most humble Servt.

D. HUMPHREYS.

The Pres. of the U. S. &c. &c.¹

A dispatch from Mr. Randolph announcing the action of the Congress passed him while at sea.

PHILADELPHIA, November 8th, 1794.

SIR:—

That I may give you a synopsis of all the letters, which have passed between us, I have the honor of inclosing to you a Statement, comprehending the whole, except your favor of the 20th of August last, which reached me a few days ago.

I should consider myself deficient in the respect, due to your assiduity and acceptable information if the chasm was as great in the acknowledgment of your letter as you seem to suppose.

Perhaps I may not have been as full in commenting upon

¹ U. S. Archives, State Dept., Washington, D. C.

your conduct in the attempt to push the Algerine negotiation, as it deserved. But the reason was, that I thought it best to postpone particular remarks, until the conclusion of the business. You are by this time apprised of the expectation of the President, that you will continue your labours on this head and of your title to draw for Eight hundred thousand Dollars to sooth the Dey into a peace, and ransom. The humanity of our Countrymen has long been excited in behalf of our suffering fellow citizens, and contributions have been made in different parts of the United States for their relief.

It was impossible for those, who were privy to the arrangements, lately made, to accept the money for redemption; tho' we should have had no difficulty in forwarding it for the accommodation of our unhappy friends under their sufferings. These being our impressions, you will excuse my candor in remarking, that the address, which has been published under your signature, has not been exempt from criticism. It has been conceived that an excess of humanity has hurried you into a communication of your feelings, without being aware how much it resembles an appeal from the Government to the People. At the same time, I am happy in the persuasion, that this deeply interesting affair cannot be consigned to better management, than yours.

The predicament, in which it now stands, supersedes the necessity of observing, that you will not wait as you suggest in your letter of the 12th of May last to Capt. O'Brien, for overtures of peace from the Dey; and that under existing circumstances, the provisional permission to return for a short time would not accord with public benefit.

I mentioned in a past letter, that the President was, about to send one Gabriels, as Consul for Barbary. But I cannot discover where he is; and therefore intend to recommend to the President, to transmit to you a Commission for Capt. Heissel, of Denmark, to be delivered to him, if the good opinion, which your letters show you entertain of him should continue, and be strong enough to persuade you of his fitness to enter upon these functions. If he should not be thought absolutely competent, you will be pleased to return the Commission, should one be

sent, and name any person, who may be calculated, and convenient for this service, in order that he may be submitted to the President for approbation and appointment.

The association between Denmark, and Sweden has been presented to us in such a shape, as to attract our attention. But I hope that Mr. Jay will reinstate us in the full possession of our neutral rights, and in perfect amity with Great Britain.

However, your collection of intelligence beyond the immediate sphere of your action will always be received with great pleasure.

You will oblige me by a few hints of the character of Chevalier de Freire. He has been presented and recognized; and bears the appearance of much accommodation of temper. It would puzzle us to say what could stir a quarrel between the United States and Portugal; and we may be mutually serviceable. It will be therefore our Study to cultivate the most perfect harmony.

You may repel every threat of quarantine to our vessels, on account of the yellow fever.

For its poison, which was undoubtedly imported, has long ceased in Baltimore, where its ascendancy was uncontrolled for many weeks, and never has shown itself in Philadelphia, except when it might be traced to a communication with Baltimore.

The plan which I contemplated for rendering your supplies more at hand for you by a deposit at Madrid, will not be executed, as Mr. Short declines the exposure of himself to the receipt of paper money depreciated.

You will therefore be pleased still to resort to our Bankers.

Congress have not yet met; a quorum of the Senate being deficient.

The Newspapers will give you all the facts concerning the insurrection at Pittsburg. An armed opposition is not in any degree apprehended. The Militia are marching to the centre of the disaffected counties, where they will cover the arrest of the malefactors, and the re-establishment of the Officers of excise.

The President's speech will probably touch this subject. If it does, it shall be hastened to you by the earliest opportunity; in order that it may be translated, for the purpose of satisfying the Portuguese nation, that convulsions like these, only strengthen our Government.

By Capt. Heissel's vessel which sails from Boston some time hence, I shall write again.

In the meantime believe me to be with sincere esteem & respect,

Your most obedient servant,
EDM. RANDOLPH.¹

That Colonel Humphreys intended to make but a hurried visit to the United States is evident from the letter he wrote immediately on his arrival, to his former companion in Washington's family, Col. Benjamin Walker, then Naval Officer of the Port of New York, who endorsed on the letter the names of vessels as desired.

PAULUS HOOK, Feb'y 9th 1795.

MY DEAR WALKER,

I hastened through New York yesterday in so much haste, that I had it not in my power to call upon you. And being about to set out for Philadelphia I take occasion of apologizing for the mission of asking a favor of you at the same time—The favor is, that you will have the goodness to make inquiry whether there were any vessels in your Port, bound immediately for Lisbon, Cadiz, Gibraltar, or any part of the South of Europe; and particularly whether there are any Swedish, Danish or other foreign vessels under that designation at present in New York, which will soon sail for Europe;—I would not however wish you to make use of my name on the occasion, but should be extremely obliged by your advising the result of your inquiries to me in Philadelphia, under cover to the Secretary of State—in asking your pardon for this

¹ U. S. Archives, State Dept., Washington, D. C.

trouble, & requesting you to present my best regards to Mrs. Walker,

I remain with sincere esteem
Your friend & Hum^{'bl} Servant
D. HUMPHREYS.

COL. BENJ. WALKER, &c. &c.¹

A brief notice of his arrival appeared in the newspapers of the day.

The object of Colonel Humphreys' voyage to America is not public but conjecture tells us it is to effect a negotiation with the Regency of Algiers for the rescue of our fellow citizens. It is said that a peace with those pirates is to be purchased not with money but with military apparatus. The Dutch purchased a peace with them in the same manner.

The journey undertaken out of pure desire to do his country service was used in some quarters to his discredit. It was thought he had been too hasty and precipitate, that he had practically set at contempt the rules governing the return of foreign ministers. His motives were by some impugned and he was sharply censured. By Washington he was received with affectionate cordiality

¹ Addressed

COL. BENJAMIN WALKER, No. 34 COURTLANDT STREET NEW YORK.

Also on outside page:

Brig. Cr. de Nazereth—

Anthony Merchant (Portuguese
Cadiz, to sail next Thursday)

This will go
probably not
before Sunday
week.

Ship John Baptize-Slano
for Malaga—sails on Monday)

Spanish
This vessel
cleared out
for Malaga
this day.

(From the Collection of the Hon. James D. Dewell, New Haven, Conn.)

and resumed his place in the household. Mrs. Washington in her correspondence mentions the visit to them of Col. Humphreys. Conferences were held upon the subject of the redemption and the terms of the treaty and the amount of the annual tribute. It was thought best that Col. Humphreys should obtain the good offices of the French government, who were at peace with Algiers, and that his friend, Joel Barlow, then in Paris, would be a good agent to convey the wishes of the United States and negotiate the treaty to be submitted to the Commissioners for approval and ratification.

Col. Humphreys sailed for Europe in the brig *Sophia*, which had been chartered by the United States for the purpose. While the vessel was delayed in Delaware Bay he sent these letters to the President and Secretary of State:

On board the Brig Sophia,
DELAWARE BAY April 8th 1795.
Evening.

MY DEAR & MOST RESPECTED SIR,

I beg leave to explain myself on a part of the plan for the management of the Algerine business on which I had not an opportunity of doing it in conversation—My idea is that Mr. Donaldson should not commence any negotiation whatsoever at Algiers, or even appear in a public character (but merely as the bearer of a letter & under sanction of a Flag) unless he shall receive secret & confidential assurances of success, amounting almost to a moral certainty, from the Consul of France.

A circumstance, from our latest intelligence from Alicant, to be but little expected. But still this measure seems indispensably necessary in order not to lose any possible chance of success, to comply with the wishes of Government after the late appropriation for the object, & to satisfy the public mind that there has been no delay in the matter.—In the interim, agreeably to the plan you were pleased to suggest, my intention,

is, to hasten (upon a candid disclosure of the real state of facts to converse with Mr. Monroe & the Executive of France, what measures are best to be pursued, & to embrace whatever mode of execution shall upon a full view of the circumstances be deemed advisable. . . . The unfortunate, if not improper moment at which I was obliged to call to take leave of you on Sunday last, and the state of my feelings at the time, prevented me from going into explanations after it was decided I should go to France, & mentioning some details which might at least serve to show that I do not consult my own ease or convenience. It is unnecessary to say how far I have sacrificed both in the course of the past winter in taking measures which I believed best calculated to promote the interests of the United States. But perhaps I may derive some satisfaction from a conviction that justice had been done to the purity of my intentions by acknowledging I could not have been influenced by private or sinister motives.

I am apprehensive, that there is much delicacy in the existing political connection between this Country & France; and that it may not perhaps be the most favorable moment to expect powerful intervention in our favour. However, in consequence of what I have learned from yourself & the Secry of State I shall not fail to give to our Minister in that Republic strong assurances of the continued friendly dispositions of our Government, & attempt to prove how much that Nation is interested in the accomplishment of our wishes.

I will hope for your indulgence in suggesting, that, although it may not be convenient to bring the French Minister into company (particularly at your dinners) with the Ministers of the Nations at war with his own, yet it may perhaps be highly important to show him that the neglect is compensated by attention in some other way. I have known a neglect of invitation to a Diplomatic Dinner become a subject of official discussion.

I pray you will pardon my solicitude that your character should appear more perfect than that of any other human being. I entreat also that my best respects may be presented to Mrs. Washington & my Compliments to the rest of the family.

Expecting few occasions which will make it either necessary or proper to trouble you with my letters, I hasten to conclude with assurances, that no one of all your friends has ever been more sincerely attached to the promotion of your glory, & that no one more ardently prays for your health & happiness than,

Your sincere friend & humble Servant
D. HUMPHREYS.

The President of the U. S.

etc. etc. etc.¹

On board the Brig Sophia.
BAY OF DELAWARE 6 o'clock 1795.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE &c.

DEAR SIR,

By return of the Pilot, I have the honour to inform you, that, after having been detained for want of a wind to enable us to pass the Bay, until this time, we are now on the point of getting out to Sea.

I have endeavoured to consider the various objects of your late Instructions to me, under every different view in which I could place them; and notwithstanding the choice of difficulties with which they appear to be surrounded, I beg leave to assure you, that no exertion shall be wanting on my part for accomplishing the wishes of the Executive. Insomuch that I cannot but hope and trust even in case of Failure, the proceedings will carry demonstration that the failure will have been occasioned solely by inevitable insurmountable obstacles.

I will not neglect to communicate to Colo. Munroe, in an ample manner, what you mentioned on another subject.

I most earnestly request to be favoured with as frequent advices from you as possible, by way of Gibraltar, Cadiz, and Oporto, as well as Lisbon. Letters by way of the three former places, will be most likely to come safely to hand, by being put under Cover to our Consuls.

With sincere thanks for the many proofs of personal friendship I have experienced in the course of the conferences which

¹ U. S. Archives, State Dept., Washington, D. C.

I have had the pleasure of holding with you, and particularly for your most obliging professions at the moment of parting.

I have the honour to remain, My dear Sir,

Your most obliged friend and humble Servant,

D. HUMPHREYS.

The SECRETARY OF STATE

&c., &c., &c.¹

Mr. Joseph Donaldson of Philadelphia, a man in whom the President and Secretary had great confidence, accompanied Col. Humphreys as Secretary. This gentleman had been appointed Consul to Tunis and Tripoli. It was thought he could be of real service to the Commissioner. After their detention at the Cape the travellers had a comfortable voyage to Gibraltar where they arrived on May 17. Mr. Donaldson was invested by Col. Humphreys with power to investigate the condition of affairs in Algiers and to conduct the preliminaries for a treaty and the ransom of the captives. He was left at Gibraltar with Mr. Simpson but he had discretionary orders to go to Alicant, and there learn whether it was practicable for him to enter Algiers.

Our Minister, as he had been instructed, left Gibraltar for France on May 24. He had a long and tedious passage to Havre which was reached on June 26. Taking post-horses he went to Paris to deliver to Col. Monroe, then Minister to France, official dispatches. He was anxious to have the matter fully settled and to proceed himself to the Court of the Dey and plead with him for favourable terms. But all communications had to be made to the authorities of the French Directory by Col. Monroe. The lack of sympathy with the revolutionary spirit in France had already made our Minister at Paris censure and distrust many of his countrymen. He was apprehensive that the appeal to France, which at that

¹ U. S. Archives, State Dept., Washington, D. C.

time was taking every advantage of the United States, would be in vain. He neither sympathized with the design of liberating the captives or invoking the aid of a powerful nation once the friend of America.

Mr. Barlow, then living in Paris, and accumulating glory for himself from the Republicans of Paris, who had been enthusiastic over the manner in which the Yankee poet had applauded the Revolution, who wore the tricolour and liberty cap, was thought to be a specially well equipped agent to Algiers.

As he had been admitted to French citizenship, Mr. Monroe gives in his censorious and vindictive pamphlet, issued after his recall from Paris, this narrative of this diplomatic incident¹:

About the last of June or beginning of July, 1795, Colonel Humphreys, then resident minister of the United States at Lisbon, arrived at Paris with a view to obtain of the French Government its aid, in support of our negotiations with the Barbary powers. He brought no letter from the administration to the French government, to authorize his treating with them in person, and of course it became my duty to apply in his behalf for the aid that he desired. Accordingly I addressed a letter to the committee of public safety on the 8th of July, 1795, opening the subject to its view generally, and requesting its aid in such mode as should be agreed between us.

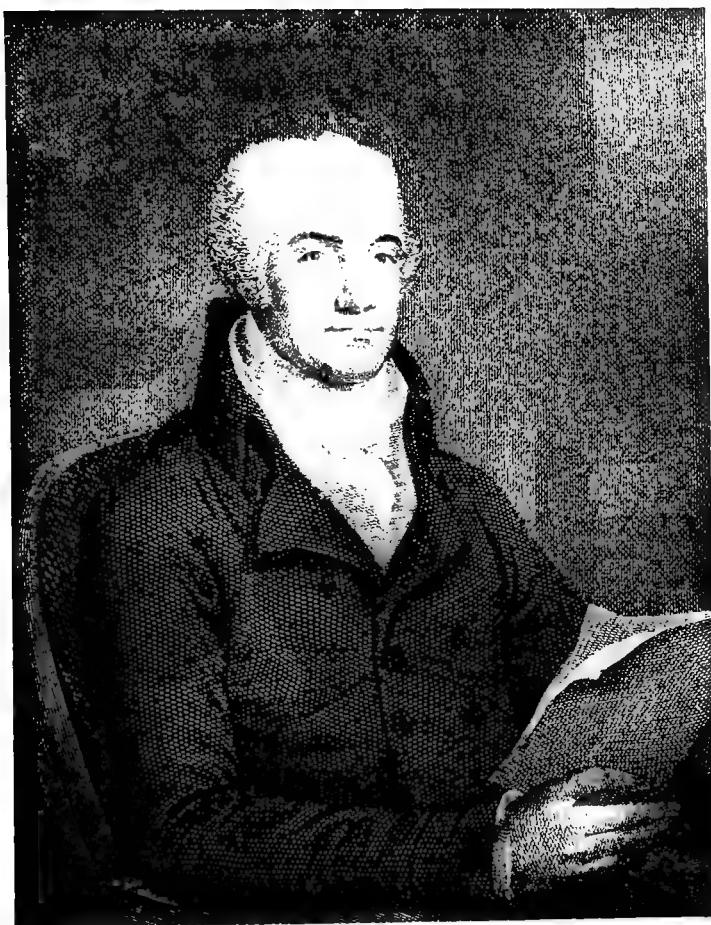
I own I made this application with reluctance, because under existing circumstances I did not think it could be made without compromising in some degree the credit of the United States; for between governments as between individuals I deem it undignified, however friendly their antecedent relations may have been, to solicit good offices, at a time when the friendship of the soliciting party is doubted, as was the case in the present instance. But I own also that my reluctance was diminished

¹ *A View of the Conduct of the Executive of the United States in the Foreign Affairs.* Philadelphia, B. T. Bache. Aurora Office, 1797.

by the knowledge that the administration possessed the treaty with England, whilst Colonel Humphreys was in America, and the presumption thus arising, that this objection was weighed and overruled before his departure. Having however made the application I was resolved to pursue the object of it with the utmost possible zeal. In consequence I sought and had many conferences with the diplomatic section of the committee of public safety, and the commissary of foreign affairs upon the subject, in which I was assured the aid desired would be given in the most efficacious manner that it could be. After some delays too, attributable at one time to us, on account of the situation of our funds, and at another to the committee then much occupied with their own affairs, arrangements were taken for pursuing these negotiations under the care of Joel Barlow, and with the full aid of France. At the moment however when Mr. Barlow was upon the point of embarking with our presents, &c, intelligence was received that a Mr. Donaldson, whom Col. Humphreys had left at Alicante with a conditional power, but in the expectation that he would not proceed in the business till he had heard further from him, had passed over to Algiers and concluded a treaty with that regency, and, of course, without the aid of France.¹

Col. Humphreys left Paris September 14, supposing that he would soon reach Lisbon and that the preliminary steps for a treaty would be taken by Mr. Barlow. Suitable presents had been selected for the Dey and his chief officers. When he reached Havre he found the captain of the *Sophia* ill, so that he could not sail until October 5, and did not arrive at Lisbon until November 17. He then busied himself in the ordinary duties of his office, and the accumulation of work which his absence of nearly a year had made. The information that he found waiting for him in regard to Algerine affairs was both gratifying and startling. The eager anxiety of Capt. O'Brien and the other prisoners and the evident readiness of the

¹ Colonel Monroe's *View*, p. xxxi.



J. Barton

ministers of the Dey to make terms through specially selected agents had led Mr. Donaldson to conclude the matter, and have the treaty drawn up in proper form, attested by the Algerine minister of foreign affairs and himself, and then sent to Col. Humphreys for approval. Its ratification was to occur when the Dey received the full sum of money promised of which only a portion had been entrusted to Mr. Donaldson. The credit for this amount had been placed with the Messrs. Baring of London, subject to the order of Col. Humphreys. With the unsettled state of Europe it was difficult to make exchanges in other commercial centres than London without serious loss. Communication by ordinary packets was slow and inconvenient.

The Dey and his ministers were very peremptory in their demands for payment of the remainder, and not inclined to be content with the assurance that it would be repaid whenever the bills on London could be advantageously negotiated. Mr. Barlow who had left France in great state in his own coach and horses in January, 1796, reached Alicante early in February, and from there crossed over to Algiers, and consulted with Mr. Donaldson as to the further steps to be taken to make firm the treaty already agreed upon. A firm of Jewish bankers, the Messrs. Bacri, were the agents between the Algerine officials and the American representatives. They endeavoured to obtain an extension of time for the final payment. This was not granted, and even a delay of two or three weeks was conceded with ill grace. Finally it was suggested that an additional present would bring concessions. Upon this, an American built frigate of eighteen guns was offered. The Dey received this offer eagerly but insisted that it should be thirty-two guns, twenty-four on upper, and eight on lower deck. The captives were then released, and an extension of six

months granted for final payment, and a convenient time for the preparation and forwarding of the naval stores, the annual tribute under the treaty. In the meantime Mr. Simpson, acting under a commission from Humphreys, had successfully exchanged conventions for the renewal of the treaty with the Emperor of Morocco in September, 1795.

Col. Humphreys received with much hospitality at his home in Lisbon, Capt. O'Brien and other officers, after their long confinement in Algiers. As exchange was then unfavourable, Capt. O'Brien was sent to Lisbon in the *Sophia* to procure from the bankers a sum of hard money sufficient to make the next payment to the Dey. It was a source of gratification that this long drawn out negotiation had come to an end although at a cost far greater than had been anticipated, and with more trouble and annoyance than seemed necessary. It is evident that some portions of the plan of Col. Humphreys were not carried out; and that the United States Government was guided in the changes made by adverse criticism of those opposed to any dealings with the pirates.

In a letter from Col. Pickering, to David Humphreys, written on November 25, 1795, he informs him of the resignation of Mr. Randolph as Secretary of State, and the temporary appointment of himself. He acknowledges the receipt of letters to September 15, and says: "As events have turned out it has been a matter of regret that you were detained so long in France." He mentions "Mr. Donaldson's letter to the Consul at Malaga and Capt. O'Brien's personal declaration, that peace had been agreed on with the Dey of Algiers as early as the 6th of September." He also consults Col. Humphreys as to the disposition to be made of the saddles intended as presents to the Emperor of Morocco.

Mr. Simpson said they were unsuitable and would

offend rather than please. In a letter written January 25, 1796, Col. Pickering announces that the receipt of letters of Consuls Murphy and Simpson confirms the letter of Mr. Donaldson on a peace. Capt. O'Brien was intending in October "to go to Lisbon to meet Humphreys." He presumes that Col. Monroe had informed him of the proceedings of Mr. Barlow after he had left Paris. Mr. Barlow had left Paris with the expectation of obtaining the Consulship at Algiers to which Mr. Pierre E. Skjoldebrand had already been appointed.

Col. Pickering regretted that Mr. Barlow should have left Paris under the circumstances. Col. Humphreys in acknowledging on March 14, 1796, Major Pickering's letter of January 25, 1796, congratulated the country on his appointment as Secretary of State, and asks that the information of American affairs received from him may be full and frequent. The following from the Secretary of State gives some interesting particulars, on various matters:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
April 13, 1796.

DEAR SIR:—

In one of your last letters you say that no advice had reached you from the Department to inform you whether your letters written during the nine preceding months had been received. I have now examined your communications, and find them complete from No. 1 to 29, the letter received yesterday bearing date the 6th of February. Letters before received from Messrs. Barings and Captain O'Brien (from the latter as late as February 16th) from London, informed that neither gold nor silver were to be there obtained; and that the only hope of procuring either rested upon letters of credit from the Messrs. Barings on Cadiz and the permission of the Spanish Government to export it.

A series of the most untoward events have attended this

Algerine business, from the beginning. Altho' a peace has been made, with a stipulation for the release of our captives, since the negotiation was committed to your direction, yet your journey to Paris, though calculated to ensure its success has by the unfortunate delays, hazarded the loss of the treaty, and of all the money which has been paid. Had you remained at Lisbon, you would have drawn the necessary monies from London in October or November when the Messrs. Barings write us, Portugal gold and Spanish dollars could easily have been procured; in which case our citizens in slavery might have been released from their chains at the time when, on account of the delay, the impatience of the Dey and Divan threatened a fresh rupture. But these things we can now only lament. I hope Mr. Barlow may reach Algiers in time to prevent any serious mischief.

Mr. Donaldson and those who advise with him have made an extremely erroneous calculation on the value of the maritime and military Stores stipulated to be delivered at Algiers, to the amount of sixty thousand dollars; the articles so delivered will cost twice that sum. This circumstance, and the unexpected increase in expenditures in conducting the business, and loss on exchanges and sales of the public stock, have made it necessary to lay fresh estimates before Congress for new appropriations, to complete the Algerine and effect the other negotiations with the States of Barbary. The matter is still there depending together with the estimate for the appropriation requisite for carrying the British, Spanish, and the last Indian treaty into execution—This suspense, however, can have no influence on your measures for executing the Algerine treaty and stipulations, so far as the means are under your command.

I trust your answer to the Dey's representation on account of the unexpected delays, will satisfy him for a while.

I observe that Mr. Barlow manifests an unwillingness to continue long at Algiers: A suitable person for Consul will therefore be sought for to relieve him as soon as possible.

It will take a considerable time to prepare the naval stores; and it may be very necessary for you to take proper measures to satisfy the Dey that the delay will be the result of necessity.

The large masts demanded will be extremely difficult to procure, because their immense bulk and weight require a transportation to navigable waters which may be practicable only at particular seasons. I hope it will be possible to commute a part of these enormous masts and some other articles, for such as it may be more easy and less expensive to procure. This may be attempted when the first cargo of maritime and military Stores shall be forwarded.

Herewith you will receive a ratified copy of the treaty between the United States and the Dey and Regency of Algiers. It appears by the Dey's letter to you that your own confirmation of it will be satisfactory at least for a time.

I am with great respect and esteem Dear Sir,
TIMOTHY PICKERING.¹

After Capt. O'Brien had made the voyage to London he was made the bearer of dispatches from Col. Humphreys to the Secretary of State, and sailed in the spring of 1796.

Before his arrival the promotion of Col. Humphreys had been decided upon. The ministry of Mr. Short at Madrid had not been gratifying to the dignified Spaniards.

The treaty negotiations never advanced beyond polite discussion. This long and vexatious delay was a positive injury to the Western frontier of our country, and the unsettled condition of our declared right to the navigation of the Mississippi was fast causing us to drift into war with Spain. As Col. Humphreys was too busy with Algerine matters to go to Spain as special envoy it was determined that Major Pinckney, the Minister at London, should undertake the almost hopeless task. Arriving in the summer of 1795, his perfect frankness, his high-bred courtesy and distinguished bearing won the respect and good will of the ministers of Carlos IV. He had many interviews with the reigning favourite, the well-known Godoy, styled the "Prince of Peace," then a high official

¹ U. S. Archives, State Dept., Washington, D. C.
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and the foreign officer of the Kingdom. Finally by his persistence, tact and willingness to concede minor points to Spanish pride he negotiated a treaty which was exceptionally favourable to the United States. It was signed at San Lorenzo by the representatives of "the high contracting powers" on October 27, 1795. Three days after he left for Paris. Mr. Short's functions as minister had been suspended in July, 1795, by the arrival of Major Pinckney, and he also left for Paris in October of that year.

The vacancy thus made was filled by the appointment of Col. Humphreys in May, 1796, as "Minister plenipotentiary to the Court of Madrid," which was unanimously confirmed by the Senate. His commission is dated May 20, 1796. Mr. John Quincy Adams was appointed as his successor at Lisbon.

The plans of the government for both these trained diplomatists are shown in these letters of announcement from the Secretary:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
June 11, 1796.

To COL. DAVID HUMPHREYS.

SIR:—

I have the pleasure to inform you, that the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States has appointed you their Minister Plenipotentiary to Spain. But the negotiations with the Barbary powers, which were committed to your management, remaining incomplete; and even the peace concluded with Algiers being in jeopardy, the President deems it necessary that you should, for the present, continue the prosecution of those affairs, as well as your ordinary functions of Minister Resident at Lisbon. The progress of the Barbary affairs you will of course from time to time communicate to this Department: These communications will indicate the moment when the public interests will admit

of your transfer to Madrid; at which period you will be duly advised of the President's determination thereon. And till then it is proposed that Mr. Adams, who is appointed to supply your place at Lisbon, should remain at the Hague. In the meantime the new appointment will be to you a grateful evidence of the President's remembrance of your long and faithful services to your Country, and of his continued confidence in your integrity and abilities.

I am Sir, respectfully your ob serv.

TIMOTHY PICKERING.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

June 11, 1796.

To JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, Esq.

SIR:—

I have the pleasure to inform you, that the President with the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States has appointed you their minister plenipotentiary to Portugal; Col. Humphreys having at the same time been appointed Minister plenipotentiary to Spain. But the negotiation with the Barbary Powers which were committed to Col. Humphreys unfortunately continue incomplete; there is indeed not a little danger that the peace concluded with Algiers may, by some untoward events, be defeated: This circumstance together with the fact that no Minister is yet appointed to succeed you in Holland, where for several reasons it seemed important we should have one, determined the President to postpone the transfer of your services from the Hague to Lisbon. You will therefore continue to exercise your functions as Minister Resident at the Hague, until a change of circumstances shall render it expedient for you to proceed to Lisbon. This expected change may probably admit of your removal early in the autumn; of which however you will be duly advised. In the meantime you will consider the new appointment, what it is in reality, a decided proof of the President's high opinion of your talents, integrity, and worth.

I am Sir, very respectfully, your ob serv.

TIMOTHY PICKERING.

Upon the same day, he thus describes the never-ending Algerine complications:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
June 11, 1796.

To COL. DAVID HUMPHREYS.

SIR:—

Captain O'Brien arrived here last Tuesday (the 7th. inst) with your letters of March 31st and April 18th and 25th, relative to our affairs with Algiers. Your communications have been fully considered, and there appears no eligible alternative but to confirm the engagement of Messrs. Barlow & Donaldson; the President has determined to direct the building and equipping of such a frigate as they have promised. This will take time, but it is understood that a reasonable time was contemplated, and when it is considered that the United States have since the conclusion of the war with Great Britain, been occupied on the Ocean only in the pacific pursuits of Commerce, and burthened with the heavy debts of the Revolutionary war were unwilling immediately to encounter the great expenses of establishing public Dockyards and collecting materials, seasoned timber especially, for building and equipping expeditiously vessels of war; it will be manifest that many months must expire before a frigate worthy of the Dey's acceptance can be furnished. This he should be made perfectly to understand, when the engagement of our Agents shall by you be confirmed.

To define the number of Months may be followed by the like ill consequences as the original stipulations respecting the money, which was to be paid as the price of peace; for unforeseen accidents may render delays inevitable; of this, however, the most positive assurances may be given that all practicable expedition in preparing the frigate will be used. Capt. O'Brien expresses his opinion, that the Dey will certainly expect the frigate in the run of twelve months: *At present* we entertain no doubt that this may be accomplished. Captn. O'Brien also supposes that the Dey's patience may hold from six to twelve months after the receipt of the money, for the arrival of the naval and military Stores. But there is little chance of

getting the enormous masts stipulated, till the ensuing winter. Mr. Donaldson estimated them at *thirty dollars* each. In the District of Maine from whence more masts have been shipped than from any part of the Union, every mast is estimated at four hundred and fifty dollars, and the lowest estimate to obtain them elsewhere is two hundred dollars. Unfortunately the whole estimate is extremely erroneous; instead of sixty thousand, the naval and military Stores, delivered at Algiers will cost the United States at least one hundred and twenty thousand dollars.

The mere bulk and weight of the Articles will exceed three thousand tons, and for the transportation of the large masts, hardly a vessel in the United States is competent. The British who used to export large masts from Maine, employed Ships of great burthen for that special purpose, the frigate may perhaps be adapted for the carriage of some of them.

Captain O'Brien's remarks transmitted in your dispatches with the treaty manifesting his opinion that a peace with Tunis and Tripoli would cost two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, the same was added to the estimate of additional funds for the Barbary affairs, a copy of the estimate is enclosed, and Congress have made a corresponding appropriation. But so great is the difficulty of raising money, that some time will elapse before you can command it; of course in the negotiations with those two States you will take care that time enough be allowed for procuring it, that we may not be reduced to the distressing dilemma which results from the stipulations with Algiers. It is hoped, that the forty thousand dollars expended in Paris in the purchase of presents for Algiers will enable you to gratify the rapacity of that Government, if such further gratification should be found necessary, as well as to smooth the way for acceptable treaties with Tunis and Tripoli.

Mr. Barlow discovers some impatience to leave the Barbary Coast, although he has been so short a time in Algiers both there and in the intended negotiations with Tunis and Tripoli his abilities and attention may greatly serve the interest of his Country; the President, therefore, is very desirous that he

should thus employ his talents until these objects are accomplished.

Capt. O'Brien expresses his opinion that the Dey having so great an interest for his family depending on the execution of our treaty with him, will prolong the time for your paying the stipulated sums, after the three months last limited shall have expired; the expectation of receiving a frigate, he supposes will be a further powerful inducement, as indeed it ought to be. This frigate, estimated by the gentlemen at Algiers, at only forty-five thousand dollars, will cost eighty thousand, eventually, therefore we rely on your saving the treaty and procuring liberty for our unhappy captives. If all other sources fail we trust another attempt will enable you to procure the money in London. The very singular State of things, when you sent thither last winter cannot be permanent, commerce and credit we presume are ere this time re-established, and money, therefore become current in its usual channels. Of this however, if needful, you will satisfy yourself by corresponding with the Messrs. Barings.

Your own anxiety, the reputation of our Government, and the great interest of our Country, are such irresistible motives to exertion in these affairs, nothing can be added to excite your greatest and most persevering attention to them.

The Messrs. Skjoldebrand have given such constant proofs of their friendship to promote the interest of the United States, the President desires you to express to them his grateful sense of their services.

I am Sir very respectfully your mo ob serv.
TIMOTHY PICKERING.^x

On June 18, 1796, the Secretary returns to the subject:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
June 18, 1796.

To Col. DAVID HUMPHREYS,
SIR:—

I just now recollect an observation of Captain O'Brien's, at the President's that if a letter were presented to the Dey un-

^x U. S. Archives, State Dept., Washington, D. C.

accompanied with a present, the reception would be doubtful, or at least ungracious. Among your dispatches you will find a letter written by the President to the Dey, which, if the state of things on its arrival shall in your opinion render it advisable to forward you will accompany with some neat but not highly expensive present, as on consulting Capt. O'Brien's experience in Algerine affairs you shall think best. A copy of that letter is enclosed.

You have mentioned the necessity of appointing a Consul for Algiers, and Mr. Skjoldebrand, in his letter to you of September 10, 1795, urges you to press that measure. The President would very gladly have made such an appointment but the law having allowed only a compensation of 2000 dollars a year, it has not been practicable to find a fit person. Indeed as a knowledge of the Spanish, or Italian language, is considered by the Dey as an important, if not an essential qualification, it will be extremely difficult to find such a person in the United States, for of all foreign languages those two are least known among us. In this situation of things, and whilst the treaty itself remained in jeopardy, I expressed to the President this opinion. That as Mr. Barlow had accepted a temporary Agency under your orders, he should be desired to continue at Algiers, until a Consul could be appointed. That being a citizen of France as well as of the United States, and going to Algiers under the patronage of the French Government, he might be very useful in obviating present and preventing future difficulties. That before an able and upright man with the other subordinate qualifications, could be found willing to accept of a permanent appointment for Algiers, it would doubtless be necessary for Congress to raise the salary from 2000 to 4500 dollars. And that before the next meeting of Congress the issue of the treaty would be known; and if adhered to by the Dey the requisite provision for the Consulate might be promptly made.

Under these circumstances I cannot but express my hopes that Mr. Barlow may be persuaded to continue to Algiers, until such provision shall be made.

In Mr. Donaldson's letters of last October was inclosed a

memorandum of watches to be provided for Consular presents; a copy of the memorandum is inclosed.

Watches of that description do not come to America; when necessary they must be procured in Europe. It would be very convenient to be informed what were the articles actually procured for Mr. Barlow to take from Paris. If practicable, I wish you would obtain and forward me a copy of the invoice, accompanied with information of the articles which have been or are to be disposed of in presents, and what will remain and be proper towards making up the Consular presents.

June 21. Several articles to be provided for the Brig Sophia have been procured less expeditiously than I expected; but to-day everything will be ready for her departure.

We are taking the preliminary measures for building the frigate promised by Messrs. Barlow and Donaldson to the Dey; and endeavours will be used to render her an acceptable present.

An agreement has been made with Capt. O'Brien fixing his pay as Commander of the United State Brigantine Sophia at two hundred dollars a month. This may seem to be a very large compensation; but independent of his services as master of the Sophia, his knowledge of Algerine affairs (acquired by a long and most painful apprenticeship) was deemed of great value, and the application of it particularly useful in the present state of our affairs with the Dey; and his services therefore were not lightly to be dispensed with. His engagement as Commander of the Sophia was entered into on the nineteenth instant, until which time you will be pleased to settle with him for his services as you shall think right; charging him with two hundred dollars which have been paid him here on account of his past services under your orders.

I have the honor to be &c.

TIMOTHY PICKERING.¹

¹ U. S. Archives, State Dept., Washington, D. C.

CHAPTER XII

Humphreys Minister to Spain

Humphreys Acknowledges his Appointment to Madrid—Announces to Washington his Engagement to Miss Bulkeley—Suggests the Establishment by the United States of a Naval Militia—Advises Washington to Issue Statement Denying Authenticity of Letters Attributed to him—Sends Draft of Such a Denial—Humphreys Writes Washington again in View of his Retirement from Public Life—And Sends him a Pair of Buckles—Washington Gracefully Acknowledges the Gift—Alludes to his Former Letter in which he Urged Humphreys to Spend the Rest of his Days at Mount Vernon—Acknowledges that his Friend's Marriage would Render this Impossible—Describes Improvements Made at Washington and Alexandria—Humphreys Sends Mrs. Washington a Gold Chain—Letter Acknowledging the Gift—Humphreys Reaches Madrid—Announces his Arrival to Secretary of State—Gives an Account of State of Affairs in Spain—Death of Washington—Humphreys' Letter of Condolence to Mrs. Washington.

COLONEL HUMPHREYS acknowledges his appointment as Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of the Escurial in a letter of August 5, 1796. He then therein states that he had recently had a friendly interview with the Portuguese Minister for Foreign Affairs, and expresses his intention of putting the relations with the Barbary States on a permanent and satisfactory footing before leaving the Court of Lisbon.

The pleasant intercourse which he had from the very first with his bankers, the Messrs. Bulkeley, had led to an intimacy and interchange of hospitalities. With the

daughter he soon formed a friendship which ripened into a tenderer sentiment.

Washington had sent a letter to his old friend by the hands of Capt. O'Brien in which the President urged him to return to Mount Vernon, and spend the rest of his life with him. Washington pathetically says that he needs the companionship of a trusted friend in his latter days, in whom he could confide.

We regret that we have been unable to find this letter. The Colonel acknowledged receipt of it on New Year's Day, 1797, and informed his friend of his engagement to Miss Bulkeley.

It is in this letter that Humphreys strongly advises the formation of a Naval Militia by the United States.

LISBON, January 1, 1797.

MY DEAR GENERAL:—

I would not trouble you with an acknowledgment of your friendly letter which I received by the hand of Captn O'Brien, because I could only repeat my sensibility of your kindness & my unalterable attachment to you. I wished not therefore to consume your time in reading a letter which only contained what you knew before. At present, the season of annual festivity seems to encourage me in offering a kind of annual tribute of gratitude & friendship. May you, my dearest & most respected friend, see in your shades (I mean at Mount Vernon also & not in those below, to which I have as great an aversion of hastening my visit, as you can possibly have to receive it) as many returns of this day as you can wish, & attended with as much happiness as human nature is capable of enjoying.

Although I have not had the opportunity, or rather the pain of seeing but few o f the Gazettes published by the Printer whose name you mention, yet I have seen enough to have been provoked at the wanton abuse that has been thrown on you, to have admired at your patience, but not to have been surprised

that you have persevered in that system of policy which was dictated by your Conscience, & which has fortunately hitherto preserved our country from hostility.

By about the time this letter may probably reach you, you will happily have arrived at the period fixed by yourself for your final retirement from public life; in which you have been placed, from the eminence of your situation, as a mark for the shafts of party slander, malice & falsehood.

But be assured (so far as I have had an opportunity of obtaining information) you will withdraw from the political Stage with more applause than ever Actor did before . . . or, in other words, you may be persuaded that your moral character is estimated as high and your public character higher, than at any former period. I have seen your late Address to the People of the U. S. in which it appears to me you have adverted to every important topic which ought to have been treated of in such a publication. By that production you have in my judgment, completed the pyramid of your fame. There are however, several things which could not have been noticed on such an occasion, which perhaps for your own sake as well as for that of the present age & Posterity, ought to be known. Such falsehoods as can be easily arrested in their course, ought to be stopped from floating down the stream of time. And I sincerely think (among other things of perhaps more consequence) it would be proper & useful for you to deny publicly these forged letters which have been published under your signature as written by you in June & July 1776, the sentiments, at least some of them are unworthy of you. I more than once spoke to you at Mount Vernon, on the subject, and you once wrote Cary (as well as I recollect) positively declaring them to be forgeries. Still they are published & republished as genuine. I have now enclosed a rough sketch of which you can avail yourself, or not, as circumstances may seem to justify. The Paper enclosed, as you will perceive, extends likewise to an ulterior end. I have meditated a good deal on the subject whether it would not be wise for you and profitable for the Public, that you should bear public testimony against the atrocious misrepresentations & falsehoods in general,

which have been published during your administration (evidently more with a design to destroy the public confidence in the public Officers of Government & thereby to disorganize the Government itself, than to injure your personal reputation) together with a kind of apology for your having taken no notice of them, while you continued in office.

In taking this measure, or abstaining from it, you must of course be governed by your own feeling & superior judgment. If this letter should not arrive in America until after your retirement, you could modify the Draft enclosed accordingly, or wholly suppress it, if you should think best. For you know I can have no object, but that of wishing your character may appear in its true point of light, and of deterring, in a degree, impudent & malicious Printers from prosecuting a similar conduct towards your Successors in Office. These, in truth, are two objects, to which I think you cannot with propriety be indifferent.

While I congratulate you in a different manner from what the World in general will, (because I am certain I take a greater interest in your happiness than the World, or even Most of your friends can do) on your approaching exemption from the troubles of public life, & the prospect of that felicity which you have a right to promise yourself in retirement . . . I most sincerely regret, on a great number of accounts that I cannot be a sharer with you in it, in conforming to your most cordial & affecting invitation. And will you permit me to say one reason of my regret is (I hope it does not arise from vanity) I think I could . . . by demonstrations of sincere & disinterested friendship for you . . . and by speaking the true sentiments of an honest heart on all occasions without disguise, as I have always done to you . . . contribute something to your own enjoyment, in the little social fireside circle. But my dearest Sir, at my time of life when perhaps the moral as well as physical faculties have arrived at that stage when one may reasonably expect to be more capable of serving one's Country than at a former period, and especially when one is possessed of some small share of experience in a particular

branch of public affairs, I doubt whether it would be right to retire from public employment. The sense of obligation for that cordial wellcome which you offer shall never be effaced from my breast. And I entreat you to accept my sincerest thanks for the very affectionate manner in which you had the goodness to recall my idea to your remembrance, when you was engaged in the pleasing contemplation of those objects which must naturally occur on your return to Mount Vernon, I do not despair of having the pleasure of visiting you at your happy Seat one day, and of dwelling with interest on the events of former times. While we shall enliven the conversation with anecdotes on the multiplicity of characters, & scenes with which we have been acquainted. I would willingly travel a thousand miles for the purpose, if I had not the obstacle I have mentioned to prevent it.

I have now to disclose to you a prospect of domestic happiness which is just opening for myself, and at which I have no doubt you will likewise rejoice. Without further circumlocution, I am going to tell you that I propose very soon to connect myself for life with a Young Lady of this City. She is the daughter of a Mr. John Bulkeley, an eminent Merchant, of whose name you will probably have heard. The proposed connection is extremely agreeable to everybody concerned. If I am not much deceived the character, manners, good sense, good dispositions & accomplishments of the Lady will entitle her to some portion of the friendly regard of yourself & Mrs. Washington, whenever she shall have the happiness of being made known to you. She has, from a long friendship for me, as well as from other circumstances, formed exactly that opinion of you both which she ought to entertain. Perhaps we are disposed to paint our future scenes in too favorable colours. If that be an error, indeed I think it is not only a pardonable, but even an useful one. The delusion, if it be such, can do no harm—it may do good. Much, very much of our happiness depends upon ourselves. If I shall not be as completely happy as my nature will allow, I know it will not be for want of disposition in the Lady in question to make me so. And I am conscious She has it more in her power than

any other person with whom I have been acquainted.—So much Egotism I have not made use of to any other human Being on the subject, and this I am confident you will have the goodness to pardon on so new, and to me so interesting an occasion.

I believe you know enough of my character to be persuaded that whenever I am able to write anything which is worth the trouble of being read it must be dictated by feeling. I write from the heart rather than from the head. If I should survive you, I shall (I believe) complete a poetical work (the outlines of which I have already sketched) with the intention & belief of doing more justice to your character, than many an abler writer (less actuated by feeling) would be able to do. The few detached parts which I have executed, I own please me more than anything else which I have written. But should my demise happen previous to yours these fragments will of course be destroyed together with my other unfinished projects. Still living or dying, you will always be assured of my affection & gratitude. Meanwhile I pray you to present my best Compliments to Mrs. Washington & our common friends and to believe me in a peculiar manner,

Your sincerest friend & most affectionate Servant,
D. HUMPHREYS.

P. S. If this letter should reach you before you should make your last address to Congress, I know not whether it would not be useful (in speaking of our means of defence in general & particularly at Sea) to recommend the Establishment of a certain species of *Naval Militia*. I know not whether the Project be practicable but believe it is. And is it not very important to devise the most just & efficient means of manning our ships, even supposing it to be by Drafts for a limited time? Do not all Persons who follow a maritime life, owe their personal Service to the defence of their Country, as much in that way, as the standing Militia does in the land Service? And might not every state be made to furnish its quota in a prompt & decisive manner towards manning a fleet, without our being

subject to the evils resulting from enrollment or impress which are experienced in England & elsewhere?

GEN. WASHINGTON President of the U. S.,¹ &c., &c., &c.

The draft of a denial of the spurious letters is a good specimen of the style used by Col. Humphreys in letters to a newspaper. It is free from offensive language and gives essential facts only. Washington would have used it as he had other drafts of his former aide, had there been occasion. He had, however, some time before this draft had been received, formally announced that the letters were forgeries.

To Mr.

SIR,

Having not long since observed in your Paper a Notification of a work for sale in the words;

"Letters of Gen. Washington to several of his friends in June & July 1776, containing much information, but little known. The authenticity of these letters has been doubted but never publicly denied, they bear some intrinsic marks of authenticity;" I take occasion to declare them to be absolutely & wholly forgeries—and I hope you will be persuaded to give as much publicity to this declaration, as you have endeavoured to give currency to that publication. This I request the rather because the letters contain (among much miscellaneous & indifferent matter) some sentiments which were never entertained by me, and which I hold to be utterly foreign to & derogatory of my character.

While I thus think it incumbent upon me to endeavour to destroy the circulation of falsehood in a single instance, which is the more easily to be done as it seems to depend upon a public denial only; I am not ignorant how impracticable it would be for me to prevent almost innumerable errors, mistakes & falsehoods (which are sometimes so blended & connected with

¹ U. S. Archives, State Dept., Washington, D. C.

facts as not to be readily separated) from following down from the present Age to Posterity.

I need scarcely explain to you, Sir, perhaps how very inconvenient & disagreeable it is for Persons who are or have been in public Offices (of some moment & responsibility) to be obliged to pay a public attention, or give a particular denial to every misrepresentation that may be published concerning themselves or their conduct. Had I paid such a regard to that object, I should indeed have had little time left to have devoted to the duties of my Office. And I thought no personal consideration (however irksome or distressing a tacit submission to the temporary circulation of misrepresentations might be) ought to be put in competition with the loss of the smallest portion of that time which could be employed in promoting the public good. Neither my time or habits of life allowed me to enter the lists as a public disputant. Nor if I had possessed sufficient talents & leisure for the purpose, would it have been a pleasant or easy task to have attempted to have refuted the many unfavorable insinuations & imputations on the conduct of the Executive Government of the United States, which (according to my sincere belief) originated entirely in malice, falsehood, & a desire to overthrow the present Constitution; because such an attempt might have been protracted into an indefinite political discussion, in the course of which proof & argument might have been answered by declamation & abuse—for you know there are certain Characters, who however they may be convinced of being in the wrong, are always determined to have not only the last, but also the most irritating word. But for myself, believing that the most essential truth relating to our Federal Government & political interests will sooner or later come to be generally known (notwithstanding any attempts to destroy the one & disguise the other) and that their influence will prevail (without any further agency on my part) to direct my Countrymen to pursue that straight political & moral path which leads to national peace & happiness, I have unspeakable pleasure in withdrawing to those tranquil & in a degree oblivious shades of retirement, where I shall not even

know when tongues addicted to lies, & pens dipped in gall, will hereafter be busied with my Character or not. Although it must be owned it is a mortifying circumstance at the moment to have our most disinterested & best actions represented as merely the effect of sinister & wicked designs; yet having this day finished my public career forever & standing as it were on the verge of two worlds, I firmly hope & trust that none of the envenomed shafts of malignity will be able hereafter to reach me in such manner as to give one moment's pain—Sequestered as I now shall be from the World, with the certainty of never mingling again in its busy scenes, I dare appeal to the present Age, to Posterity, & to the Searcher of all hearts to decide whether I could possibly have been actuated by those motives of personal ambition & aggrandizement which have, by some Persons, been ascribed to me. What interest could I possibly have in attempting to give a tone to the Executive Department which did not belong to it? Have I Sir, any Child, any favorite, any Relation, and any courtly minion for whom I wished to provide by subverting the present well balanced Constitution, and substituting an hereditary Tyranny? The World will with indignation give the lie to such Malevolent insinuations. . . .

Notwithstanding the diffidence in myself a knowledge of my own frailties & imperfections inspired at the time when I entered upon the duties of the high Office to which I was called by the voice of my Country, I have been so strengthened by the consciousness of the purity of my intentions, & by the co-operation of my several Coadjutors in Office, as to have been enabled to reach the period fixed for my retirement, with perhaps fewer, difficulties & obstacles than I had a right to expect. And notwithstanding the unwearied efforts of a few Individuals to destroy, or at least to weaken the confidence which my Countrymen had been pleased to repose in me I have great reason to be thankful for having always experienced & especially on all critical emergencies, their sincere, zealous & decided support, and this, I presume, was occasioned by a belief on their part that I could not have any objects to promote separate from the prosperity of the Community.

As this is the first Paper which I have addressed to any Person since the burden of the Executive Government has been removed from me, I was willing to make use of the occasion in mentioning some of the reasons why I had not noticed several publications which have appeared during the course of my Administration, in order that it might remain as a kind of appendix to my public Documents. Having nothing further to add, I bid you, Sir, adieu.—

* N.B. The following paragraph may be added or omitted, as it may be designed to make the address more or less personal.

And did you seriously think, Sir, that I was possessed of such littleness of mind, as to have established *Levees* (as you was pleased to call them) from motives of vanity & ostentation; or that I should have continued to receive company at stated times, if I had not found that it was vastly more convenient to give those who might wish to speak to me an occasion of doing so in that manner, rather than to suffer myself to be interrupted with visits at every moment?

Or had not I a right to drive the same number of Horses in my Carriage, while President of the United States, which I had been accustomed to do as a private Citizen?

In view of Washington's approaching retirement from public life, his old friend sent him the following letter accompanied with a parting gift, little thinking that it would be his last letter to his revered chief.

LISBON Feby 18th 1797.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

On the 1st of Jan^{ry} I had pleasure of writing to you a long letter which I hope you will have received before this shall reach you.—But having now nothing to say but to repeat the expressions of my veneration & affection for you, I shall not trouble you with many words on the occasion. The language of *gratitude & friendship* may be as concise, as energetic. I

believe you are convinced few have a larger portion of *either* for you. The expression of *these* cannot but display itself on every new & interesting epoch of your life. Permit me then to offer you my sincere congratulations on your drawing so near to the period when your public life is to be terminated . . . or, to speak figuratively, when after having passed the stormy military & political Seas on which you were embarked from necessity & duty you are on the point of reaching the ports of private life and domestic felicity.—May tranquility, health & happiness long attend you in your retirement.

As you will have become a private Citizen before this shall be put into your hands, I may now venture to ask your acceptance of a pair of Shoe & Knee Buckles, made expressly for you of oriental Topazes . . . which Capt. O'Brien is charged to deliver or send to you. As I think, they are neither mean, or gaudy, or too vulgar, or too expensive I hope you will wear them very often for my sake; and that, in wearing them, you will sometimes have the goodness to recollect, they only meant as a silent memorial of the Sentiments of inexpressible attachment, affection & respect with which I shall never cease to be

Your Sincerest friend & Most devoted Servant,

D. HUMPHREYS.

GEN. WASHINGTON.

etc. etc. etc.¹

The last letter which Washington ever penned to his old friend and former companion in arms, was one in acknowledgment of this gift. It possesses therefore a peculiar and pathetic interest.

MOUNT VERNON, 26th June 1797.

MY DEAR HUMPHREYS:—

Since I did myself the pleasure of writing to you by Captain O'Brien, I have been favoured with your letters of the 1st. of Jan.^y and the 18th of February. The last in date was

¹ U. S. Archives, State Dept., Washington, D. C.

One of these buckles has been preserved and can be seen in the cabinet in the dining-room at Mount Vernon.

the first received; but neither came to hand until long after I had left the chair of government, and was in the shade of my own Vine and Fig-tree.

The testimony of your politeness and friendship to Mrs. Washington and myself, which accompanied the letter are accepted with the same cordiality and cheerfulness with which I am sure they were presented. Presents, however, to me are of all things the most painful; but, when I am so well satisfied of the motives which dictated yours, my scruples are removed: and I receive the buckles (which are indeed very elegant) as a token of your regard and attachment, and will keep, and wear them occasionally for your sake.

As the gazettes of this country are transmitted from the Department of State to all our diplomatic characters abroad, you will, of course, have perceived that the measure advised by you, relative to the disavowal of the forged letters, (attempted to be imposed on the public as written by me in 1776,) had been previously adopted, without any accompaniments contained in your draughts, which was received after the publication of it.

I am clearly in sentiment with you, that every man who is in the vigor of life, ought to serve his country in whatsoever line it requires, and he is fit for. It was not my intention, therefore to persuade you to withdraw your services, whilst inclination and the calls of your country demand your service; but the desire of a companion, in my latter days, in whom I could confide, might have induced me to express myself too strongly on the occasion. The change, however, which I presume has ere this taken place in y^r domestic concerns, would of itself have annihilated every hope of having you as an inmate, if the circumstance had been known at the time.

On this event, which I persuade myself will be fortunate and happy for you, I offer my congratulations with all the sincerity and warmth you can desire; and if ever you bring Mrs. Humphreys to the U. States, no roof will afford her and you a more welcome reception than this, while we are the inhabitants of it.

To the Department of State and the Gazettes which will be transmitted from thence, I shall refer you for the Political

State of our affairs; but in one word I might have added, that nothing short of a general peace in Europe will produce tranquillity in this country, for reasons which are obvious to every well-informed observant man among us.

I have confidence, however, in that which has shielded the U. States from the evils which have threatened them hitherto; and as I believe that a major part of the People of this Country are all well affected to the Constitution and Government of it, I rest satisfied, that if ever a crisis should arise to call forth the sense of the community, it will be strong in support of the Honor and dignity of the nation. Therefore, however much I regret the opposition which has for its object the embarrassment of the administration, I shall view things in the "calm light of mild philosophy," and endeavour to finish my course in retirement and ease.

An absence of eight years, except short occasional visits to it, (which allowed no time to investigate or look into the real state of my private concerns,) has very much deranged them, and occasioned such depredations upon buildings, and all things around them, as to make the expence of repairs almost as great, and the employment of attending to workmen almost as much, as if I had commenced an entire new establishment.

The public buildings in the Federal city go on well. One wing of the Capitol (with which Congress might make a very good shift) and the President's House will be covered in this autumn; or to speak more correctly, perhaps the latter is *now* receiving its cover, and the former will be ready for it by that epoch. An elegant bridge is thrown over the Potomack at the little falls, and the navigation of the river above will be completed, nearly this season; through which an immensity of Produce must flow to the shipping Ports thereon. Alexandria you would scarcely know, so much has it increased since you was there; two entire streets, where Shallop, then laded and unladed, are extended into the river and some of the best buildings in the Town erected on them. What were the Commons, are now all enclosed and many good houses placed on them. As my circle is *now small*, my information will be of course contracted as Alexandria and the Federal City will

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probably be the extent of my perambulations. If you have entered the matrimonial list, I pray you to present me in respectful terms to your lady, and at all times and under all circumstances, that you would believe me to be, as I really am,
My dear Sir,

Your most obt^t and aff^t Serv^t,
G^o WASHINGTON.

P. S. The real seal of this letter being black, is occasioned by the death of my *only* sister, Mrs. Lewis, late of Fredericksburgh.^x

At the same time that Colonel Humphreys sent the Buckles to the General, he sent also a gold chain to Mrs. Washington, as is evident from the following draft of a letter, which although all in the General's handwriting is evidently intended to have been copied by Mrs. Washington, who as we know from her letters still extant was a poor speller.

MOUNT VERNON, June 26th, 1797.

DEAR SIR,

Your polite & obliging letter of the 18th of Feb'y came safe to my hands, as did the Gold chain which you have had the kindness to present me with as, a token of your remembrance. I wanted nothing to remind me of the pleasure we have had in your company at this place; but shall receive the chain, notwithstanding, as an emblem of your friendship, and shall value it accordingly.

About the middle of March we once more (and I am very sure never to quit it again) got seated under our own Roof, more like new beginners than old established residents, and we found everything in a deranged & the buildings in a decaying state.

Poor Mrs. Stuart has had very ill health for the last 6 or 8 months, but is better now—Her two eldest daughters as you know or have heard are both married, & each has a daughter.

^x U. S. Archives, State Dept., Washington, D. C.

Nellie lives as usual with us—to all of whom I have presented you in terms you required, and all reciprocate your kind wishes in an affectionate manner. Mr. Lear who often visits us, has lost his second wife more than a year ago. Mr. Lund Washington died in August last—our circle of friends of course is contracted, without any disposition on our part to enter into *new friendships* though we have an abundance of acquaintances, and a vast variety of visitors. Dr. Craik is alive and enjoys tolerable good health, but Mrs. Craik declines fast. They have lately lost their second daughter, Mrs. West, who has left five young children.

Perceiving by your letter to Mr. W. that you were on the eve of an important change I wish you every possible happiness in it.

With very great esteem & regard,
I am, Dear Sir,
Yr Obedt Hble Servt.

Endorsed on the margin in the same handwriting is the following:—"From MRS. WASHINGTON to COL. HUMPHREYS, 26th June 1797."¹

Colonel Humphreys had reached Madrid after bidding an affectionate farewell to his friend the Chevalier de Pinto, and having had a gratifying audience with the Regent, he announces his arrival at Madrid to the Secretary of State.

MADRID, Aug. 15, 1797.

SIR:—

According to the expectation expressed in my unnumbered letter dated at Badajoz 4th, I arrived here last Saturday night. The Court is at St. Ildefonso, fourteen Leagues from Madrid. As soon as my Baggage shall be brought through the Custom House I proceed to that Royal City. But as there is to be a great Gala on the 25th (it being the Queen's name day) I suppose my Credentials cannot be delivered before that time.

¹ In the possession of Richard B. Coutant, M.D., Tarrytown, N. Y.

So soon after my arrival, it is impossible to say much on the state of affairs under this government, or as they relate to that of the United States. Indeed, I ought, by way of preface to my future correspondence from this Kingdom, to report what I have said in one of my public letters from Madrid, some years ago, that it is more difficult to come to the truth in this Capital than in any other in which I have ever resided. So much do the politics and circumstances about the Court vary from day to day. This must therefore serve as my apology, should I be led into mistakes or errors in my representations, notwithstanding all the precautions I shall take to avoid them.

A considerable number of vessels belonging to citizens of the U. S. had been reported to me by name before my departure from Lisbon, as having been captured and detained in the different ports of Spain. I find there are many others of which I had then no information. The number of letters for me, and under cover to me for others on this business, which I found here, are indeed very great. Insomuch that I see the Business extensive and complicated as it is, cannot possibly be done with any tolerable correctness, unless some regular system for doing it be immediately adopted, and I shall consequently find myself under the necessity of naming some Person (till the pleasure of Government be known) to receive the applications and act in behalf of such of the Citizens of the U. S. as may have claims to present, and litigations to manage in Madrid; in the same manner as Mr. Skipwith was appointed, by Mr. Monroe, to act in Paris. I hope this measure which appears to me so indispensably necessary, will meet the approbation of Government.

Mr. Rutledge I have not yet seen. He has gone to Ft. Ildefonso with a Captain Horton, whose vessel (captured by a French Privateer) after it had been given up by the Spanish Tribunal, as having been captured within the territories of Spain, has by an order of Court been delivered to the Captors. This is said to have happened for want of attention on the part of Mr. Rutledge. I shall now finish by saying one word on the fluctuating news of the moment, one day the Prince of Peace is more in favour than ever, another he has quarreled

with the Queen, a third he is to be sent Ambassador to Russia and yesterday it was confidentially reported he is to be married to a niece of the King.

I enclose the Copy of a letter I received this day from Mr. Barlow. You will see by the memorandum entered upon it, I accepted his Bill for eighteen hundred Dollars, payable with Oliver Wolcott, Esq. Secr'y of the Treasury, of which I pray you will advise that gentleman.

With Sentiments of great respect and regard,
Your Mo. ob. and H'ble. Servt.

D. HUMPHREYS.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE,
&c., &c., &c.¹

Five years later he thus alludes to his residence in Lisbon in the dedication of his "Poem on the Industry of the United States of America" to the Prince Regent:

Some time after the conclusion of that war, it was my destiny to have been employed on a public mission to her most Faithful Majesty, for the purpose of cementing and consolidating the friendship of our two governments and nations. Commercial and friendly relations, I will dare to say mutually beneficial, of an enlarged and valuable nature were formed. To have been the first Minister from the United States of America to Portugal; to have been instrumental in opening an exclusively advantageous intercourse between the inhabitants of the two countries; to have never been involved in any unpleasant discussion and to have enjoyed the uninterrupted favour of the Royal Family of Braganza, when accredited as a diplomatic agent near its chief for more than seven years, are circumstances which will continue to be remembered with conscious pleasure, to the latest period of my life.²

George Washington did not long survive his retirement. When the sad and unexpected tidings of the death of his

¹ U. S. Archives, State Dept., Washington, D. C.

² Humphreys' *Miscellaneous Works*, p. 91.

old and trusted friend reached Madrid, Humphreys immediately sent this touching letter of sympathy to Lady Washington.

The news sent a thrill of sorrow throughout the civilized world, and gave to the Colonel, who felt his death keenly, the theme for a noble poem on the death of Washington, which he first read to an appreciative audience of Spanish Grandees at the American Embassy.

MADRID, February 22, 1800.

DEAR AND RESPECTED MADAM:—

Too long was I an inmate of your hospitable family, and too intimately connected with the late illustrious head of it, not to share in the poignancy of your distress for the death of the best of husbands. The loss of the most distinguished man of the age is an event which has produced an extensive mourning in Europe as well as in America. On the return of this day, which was signalized by his birth and which was accustomed to be celebrated with heartfelt festivity throughout the United States, what mingled ideas crowd upon the recollection! Grief more genuine or more universal was never manifested in any age or in any nation. While a grateful country offers to you the joint tribute of sympathetic tears, I am encouraged to hope that the solitary condolences of an absent friend will not be unseasonable or unacceptable. Accept, then that pledge of my sincere affection and respect for you. In the season of severe afflictions, I know you were ever disposed to listen to the voice of friendship, reason, and religion. When, nearly nineteen years ago, you were bereaved by death of a dear, an only son, after having mentioned the superior motives for a resignation to the dispensations of the Deity, I attempted to administer some consolation, by showing that the lenient hand of time might mitigate the severity of grief, and that you had still the prospect of enjoying many good days on earth in the society of the best of friends, as well as in beholding your grand-children happily established in life, as a comfort

for your more advanced years. Highly favoured have you been by Providence, in the uninterrupted fruition of those felicities, until the late fatal stroke, which has removed all you held most dear for ever from this world. Having lived long enough for himself, and long enough for glory, he has gone before us from these mutable scenes of trouble to the mansions of eternal rest.

We, too, are hastening to follow him "to that undiscovered country from whose bourne no traveller returns." The only difference is, whether we shall commence our journey a few days sooner or later. In either case the idea of meeting our dear departed friends will serve, in some degree, to cheer the gloomy passage. To those who have already passed into the vale of declining life, it is true everything here below ought to appear too transitory and too shortlived to allow them to calculate on permanent enjoyments. If the consolation which was once naturally drawn from the expectation of still seeing many good days on this earth, be diminished, the resources of reason and religion are everlasting as they are inexhaustible. The noble sentiments and principles of your departed husband remain for your support. Your long alliance with that exalted character cannot fail to elevate your mind above the pressure of immoderate sorrow; we are apt to assimilate ourselves, as far as we are able, to the character, and, as it were, to identify our own with the destinies of those we love. Your hope of happiness is with him on high. But without suffering your intellectual view to be diverted from the higher contemplation, may you not experience some soothing sensations in contemplating a whole people weeping over the tomb of your beloved; in seeing them strive to bestow unequalled honours on his memory, and in knowing that they wish to alleviate your sorrow by a participation of it? And may you not derive some rational comfort from the recollection that the great and good man whom we now mourn as having been subject to the lot of mortality, has faithfully discharged every duty in life; from a belief that he has now entered upon a glorious immortality; and from a conviction that, after having rendered to his country more important services than any other human

character ever performed, his example will continue to be a blessing to mankind so long as this globe shall exist as a theatre for human action?

Since the fatal news reached me, I have found my heart so much oppressed as not to be able to give vent to those effusions which can alone afford me some relief. I wish to express my sensations, but feel myself incapable of the effort; so true is the observation of the author of the pathetic elegy on Mr. Addison:

“What mourner ever felt poetic fires!
Slow comes the verse that real woe inspires;
Grief unaffected suits but ill with art,
Or flowing numbers with a bleeding heart.”

When my own grief shall become a little moderated, I propose to indulge my melancholy meditations in endeavouring to delineate such features of the deceased father of his country, and such events of his interesting life, as have left the most indelible impressions on my mind. I shall thus procure the double advantage, first for myself, of holding a kind of spiritual intercourse with him; and, next, of exhibiting for others an admirable model for imitation. Could I flatter myself with the expectation of being able to express (in any adequate proportion) what I know and what I feel on a subject which will employ the pens of innumerable writers, I might then hope to do not less justice to his public and private virtues than others. For, conscious I am that few have had opportunities of knowing him better and that none could appreciate more justly his morals and his merits. If the task which gratitude, affection and duty impose shall not be executed in a manner too unworthy of the subject, even in my own judgment, I shall ask your acceptance of the production when finished. In the meantime, may you receive while here on earth, every species of consolation of which an afflicted and virtuous mind is susceptible: and may the choicest of heaven’s

benedictions attend you through the whole period of your existence. Such is the fervent prayer of

Your most affectionate and most obliged friend and servant,
D. HUMPHREYS.

P. S. I request you will present my most affectionate regards to Mrs. Stuart and family, to all your amiable grandchildren, to Mr. Lear, Dr. Craig and family, and, in general, all my ancient friends in your neighbourhood. Mrs. Humphreys, although she has not the honour of being personally known to you, cannot but take a deep interest in your affliction. She requests me to tender the homage of her best respects to you.¹

¹ Humphreys' *Miscellaneous Works*, Edition of 1804, p. 151.

CHAPTER XIII

Success of Humphreys at Madrid

Humphreys at Madrid—His Success—His Popularity at Court—Selections from his Dispatches—And Correspondence—Jefferson Elected President—Abruptly Recalls Humphreys—His Return to America—The King of Spain's Profound Regret at Humphreys' Recall—He Insists on Presenting Humphreys with a Present—Humphreys Refusing it, a Present is Made to Mrs. Humphreys—Humphreys Lays the Matter before the President—Jefferson's Letter to Humphreys—Summary of Humphreys' Diplomatic Career.

HUMPHREYS was now at the height of his career. He had succeeded where others had failed. The Algerine matter was now a thing of the past. He had carried away with him from Portugal the esteem of all with whom he had come in contact. He had married a woman who was in every way suitable to uphold his rank and position. He had abundant means at his command, and was rapidly gaining the friendship and confidence of the Spanish Court. He had thawed their coolness by the charm of his manner and won their respect by his ability.

The superciliousness with which all our former representatives had been treated soon vanished. Humphreys was met on an equal footing by the grandes of the Court. He entertained hospitably and gathered round his table, under the presidency of his charming wife, the best society in the aristocratic and literary circles of

Madrid, nor was he, for a moment, forgetful of the claims on him of his poor and needy countrymen.

His diplomatic task at that time was an exceedingly difficult one. He had to insist courteously, but firmly, that American commerce should not suffer owing to the war and that American ship owners and vessels should not be detained in either French or Spanish ports.

The following selection from his correspondence is made to show the varied nature of his duties and how he acquitted himself, not only to the satisfaction of the Government at Washington, but, which was more difficult, to that of the Escurial.

MADRID, March 20, 1798.

SIR:—

The day after I had the honour of addressing you last, I had that of receiving your letter of the 30th of Dec. brought from America by Captn O'Brien and forwarded to me from Gibraltar by Mr. Simpson, who happened accidentally to be at that place at the time of the arrival of the Crescent; From Mr. Simpson I learnt that Captn O'Brien sailed on the 20th ulto for Algiers with all the Treasure, because the Governor did not choose to give receipts in such manner as to be responsible for it. In my No. 129 I transmitted to you a copy of my letter of the 20th ulto to Capt. O'Brien. . . . It is extremely unfortunate he could not have read it . . . as, in that case, he would doubtless have contrived to have left there that part of the money which would not be wanted where he was destined.

This day I have recd a letter from Captn O'Brien of which a copy is enclosed, No. 1 also one from Mr. King, a copy of which you will find in No.— Mr. Smith I hear, has gone from Lisbon to Gibraltar; but I have no knowledge of the objects of his voyage.

In order that you may be the better acquainted with the state of affairs at Tripoli I enclose the copy of a letter from Captn Ingraham to M. Filichi, No. 3. forwarded by the latter to me.

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I transmit likewise an Office from the Prince of Peace, No. 4 respecting the construction of a Light house at Tarifa & my reply, but I have received no answer from him to my communication of the 3rd inst.

I add moreover a paper which is copied from a letter from Bayonne—But I think the account of arresting Americans in France is much exaggerated if not altogether without foundation; for I see nothing concerning it in the Paris Gazettes—nor receive any similar advice from that Capital.

With sentiments of regard and esteem, I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your Mo ob & hble Servt.

D. HUMPHREYS.

The Secry of State, &c., &c.

P. S. There is no News of importance by the French Courier of to-day, except from Switzerland, where the French have taken Soleure; and it is said, Bern, after considerable bloodshed. I shall write to Mr. King & Captn O'Brien by early conveyance.

March 21st.

The preceding is duplicate of what I dispatched by yesterday's Post by way of Lisbon. . . . I now enclose copies of my letters to Mr. King & Captn O'Brien.

MADRID, Nov. 1st, 1799.

SIR:—

I have the honour of transmitting you herewith, for the information of Government, as correct a List as could be obtained of the vessels & cargoes belonging to citizens of the United States which have been captured by Spanish or French Privateers and brought into the Ports of Spain. This list you will learn has been digested by Mr. Young at my instance, from the Reports & Materials in the possession of both of us; and I cannot omit this occasion to express in terms of high approbation my sense of the diligent, faithful & intelligent

conduct of this Gentleman since he has been employed in the public Service in connection with me. And tho' I should extremely regret being deprived of his able assistance in the execution; yet I would fondly flatter myself that if hereafter a vacancy in some better employment should happen, his services which date from the earliest period of our Revolution and his Merits which I believe are known to the President might not be forgotten.

With Sentiments of high consideration & esteem,

I have the honour to be Sir, Your Mo ob & hble Servt.

D. HUMPHREYS.

The Secretary of State,
&c. &c. &c.

MADRID, Janry 3, 1800.

SIR:—

I have the honour of enclosing to you herewith in No. 1 the Office which I passed to the Acting first Minister of State, respecting the two American vessels captured & carried into Campeachy as stated in the Depositions contained in your letter dated the 27th of August last, together with his Answer.

In No. 2 you will find enclosed the Correspondence which has taken place between the same Acting first Minister of State & myself, on the Subject of the Citizens of the U. S. marched under the Escort of H. C. M. from the territories of Spain into those of the French Republic. These Documents are fully explanatory of the several subjects.

I hope my conduct will meet the approbation of the President; and as I mentioned in my last letter but one, that whenever a more peremptory and categorical style shall be deemed requisite, my Government will authorize me to make use of it.

I have this day received from Mr. Willis our Consul at Barcelona the Paper of which No. 3 is a copy, announcing the danger of the commencement of Hostilities on the part of Tunis against the U. S.

Consul O'Brien has also written to me from Algiers on the necessity of our being punctual in fulfilling our engagements

with that Regency in order to prevent the disagreeable consequences of a rupture. I doubt not he has written the same thing repeatedly to you & to our Minister at Lisbon.

With Sentiments of great respect & esteem,

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your Mo ob & Mo h^{ble} Servt.

D. HUMPHREYS.

The Secretary of State
etc., etc., etc.

MADRID May 11th, 1800.

SIR;—

On Thursday last I received your favour, covering a letter of recommendation from Mr. Corbin & accompanied by another letter from Mr. O'Brien, Vice-Consul of the U. S. at Santander. I was much surprised and mortified to learn that the Vessel of which you are Super-cargo had been captured and carried into that Port by a French Privateer, under the Stale and frivolous pretext of the want of a Role d'Equipage, altho' your vessel was provided with the accustomary printed Shipping paper. It was to have been hoped that the French Privateers would not have continued their system of piracy at the very moment when the Envoys of the U. S. were treating with the French Government for an accomodation of the misunderstandings existing between the Republics. I lost not a moment in communicating your Representation of the capture to our Envoys & at the same time expressing a hope that some extra-judicial measures would be immediately adopted for procuring the restoration of the property together with an adequate compensation of the damages occasioned by the detention. If this should not be the case, I know of no remedy which you have but that of prosecuting the defence of your cause in the French Maritime Courts with all the promptness & vigour possible and there has been lately a new Supreme Tribunal established at Paris, (& as it is believed upon a more just footing than that which heretofore existed there) for ultimate division in cases of Prizes, it is to be presumed you cannot finally lose the property intrusted to your care. Mr. O'Brien will of course give you every advice & assistance in his

public and private character which his knowledge of the Country & its language may enable him to afford you. And you may rely upon my sincere and ardent desire of being useful to you in any way which may be in my power. In the meantime I have already reported the circumstances of your having been captured to the Secretary of State at Philadelphia, in case you should carry into execution your intimated project of coming to Madrid before you shall return to America, it would afford me great pleasure to have an opportunity of testifying my respect for the recommendation of Mr. Corbin as well as of convincing you by my personal attentions of the Sentiments of due consideration & esteem with which I am,

Sir,

Your Mo ob'd H'ble Serv't,

D. HUMPHREYS.

PETER R. BEVERLEY, Esq.,
Santander.

P. S. I have to express my thanks for the Newspapers which Mr. O'Brien forwarded to me as coming from you. I enclose a letter to Mr. Corbin & also a Prospectus for Printing my Miscellaneous Works, as perhaps some of your acquaintances in America may wish to have an opportunity of obtaining Copies.

ARANGUEZ June 12, 1800.

SIR:—

I have duly received the letter which you did me the favor to write to me on the 26th Ult:—as also other communications on your subject from Mr. O'Brien to whom I write on the same under this date & to whom I beg you will therefore be referred for information. I notice with pleasure your attention to the Portuguese. It will give me much satisfaction to see Mr. O'Brien & yourself at Madrid, whither I shall return in a few days. We have no direct news respecting the negotiation at Paris that can be relied upon. The French Ambassador has lately informed me that his advices from private friends afford reason to hope it will be speedily and happily terminated. He is much opposed to the whole system of

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privateering or rather piracy against neutral nations as it has been practiced by his Countrymen.

In continuing the tender of my services, I remain, with great consideration, Sir,

Your most ob & hmble Ser,
D. HUMPHREYS.

Mr. PETER R. BEVERLEY,
&c., &c., &c.
Santander.^x

MADRID, Sept. 23d, 1800.

DEAR SIR:—

After a long suspension of our correspondence, I take occasion of resuming it by enclosing to you a Prospectus for the publication of my works. To this measure I have been induced principally for the sake of inserting among the others a Poem on the death of Gen. Washington of considerable length, in which I have paid the tribute of gratitude, & have attempted to do whatever justice my talents would admit to the Memory of that most excellent Character.

Mr. Henry Preble, a respectable Citizen of the U. S., will have the honour of delivering this letter. I beg leave to recommend him to your favourable notice & good offices. He has for some time past performed the duties of Consul of the U. S. in this Capital (during the absence of Mr. Young) & of secretary to myself, very much to my satisfaction. He wishes to be named Consul of the U. S. for Cadiz whenever a vacancy may happen, and as I think him possessed of the qualities necessary for filling that place with credit to himself & utility to the Public, I should experience a real pleasure in his obtaining the appointment.

With Sentiments of great consideration & esteem

I am dear Sir,

Your Most ob & Most h^{bl}e Servt,
D. HUMPHREYS.

MR. THO. JEFFERSON

V. President of the U. S. of America

&c., &c., &c.

^x From the collection of the Hon. J. D. Dewell, New Haven, Conn.

Humphreys to Minister of State 277

MADRID November 8th. 1800.

To the acting MINISTER OF STATE,

SIR:—

I am indebted for the receipt of your polite letter dated the 1st. instant in which your Excellency is pleased to acquaint me with the resolution of his Catholic Majesty, that Captain James Miller and his ship must be jointly involved in the results of the process which is pursuing in consequence of the occurrence which happened at the Road of Barcelona on the 4th of September with regard to the two Dutch Prizes captured there by the English; that the examination of the responsibility and innocence of the said Captain would be made with all possible brevity and by a private investigation in order that it might be placed before his Catholic Majesty and that such final resolution might be taken as should be just; and that this Royal order has been communicated to the Minister of War for its accomplishment and with the object that advice of the result of the Cause should be punctually given to your excellency.

I have now the honour to inform your excellency that Captain James Miller has arrived at this Court, and that he is ready to answer any interrogatories which may be put to him or to afford any satisfaction on the subject which shall be in his power. To furnish some data for calculating the clear loss to the World occasioned by the detention of this property, I beg leave to observe that the Ship and Cargo were estimated to be worth fifty-five thousand hard dollars; that the value of both has been much diminished by the damage suffered particularly by the Ship striking the bottom when brought to her present position since her detention, & that in addition to this clear loss to the World, the sum of one hundred and fifty hard dollars will be expected as a compensation of expenses and losses to the Owners for every day that the said ship and Cargo have been or may be detained. Personal distress may likewise now be added to their suffering. For it is represented that the Crew (who cannot in any view of the subject be supposed to have been personally guilty) who are still confined by

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a military armed force as prisoners on board, either now are or soon will be in a very distressed condition for want of food to sustain life. All which circumstances are submitted to the wise and candid consideration of your Excellency.

I profit by the occasion to renew the profession of the perfect consideration and esteem with which

I have the honour to be, Sir

Your Excellency's most ob't & most hum Servt.

D. HUMPHREYS.

I certify that the above is a true copy.

Madrid Jan'ry 2nd. 1801.

360, McKean Papers, p. 39.

MADRID, 16th Sep^r. 1800.

SIR,

Mr. Ronchamps has delivered the Letter which your Execy did me the favour of writing to me on the 14th of April last in his behalf. From the little acquaintance I have had with him, I fully appreciate the merits which you have so justly attributed to him; He indeed appears to be very intelligent, well informed and amiable in his manners. Any civilities or services which I could render to him would, therefore, be doubly gratifying to myself. Happily he had put his business in a good train of execution before the delivery of your letter. I have only been able to recommend his business to the person who has charged himself with it, and I flatter myself upon his return to you he will testify that I have at least manifested a desire of not being wanting in any personal attention to him.

On the subject of the death of our old friend Genl Washington, which is mentioned in your letter with so much sensibility, I too have my share in it. I have, moreover, endeavoured to do some justice to his memory by consecrating a poem of considerable length to that melancholy subject. The manuscript together with some others for publication pass to

* From the collection of the Hon. J. D. Dewell, New Haven, Conn.

America by this conveyance, of which I profit to send a prospectus to your Excellency. Mr. Henry Preble who will have the honour of presenting this letter, has been for some time past employed in the public service here during the absence of the Consul. He now wishes to obtain the Consulship of the U. S. at Cadiz when it shall become vacant. He is a worthy young man, & if your Excy could be of any utility to him it would be considered a favour conferred to myself.

In the meantime, I remain, with great consideration & respect, Sir,

Your Exy's most ob & humble Servt,
D. HUMPHREYS.

His Excy THOMAS MCKEAN, Esq.
Governor of the State of Pennsylvania, &c. &c.

Endorsed:

Private Madrid Sepr 16, 1800.

His Excellency HUMPHREYS

Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States.

361, p. 40, McKean Papers.

MADRID, Sepr. 24th, 1800.

SIR,

On the 16th inst. I had the honour of writing a letter to your Excy in acknowledgement of yours of the 14th of April last, which was introductory of Mr. Ronchamps as mine was of Mr. Preble a citizen of the U. S. who was returning to America.

I now take the liberty of presenting to your favourable attention Mr. de la Torre, a Spanish gentleman who has charged himself with the delivery of this letter. This gentleman has been introduced to me as an associate in a respectable commercial house at Cadiz and as having a process of much importance to the U. S., the management of which, as I understand, is the object of his voyage to America. I further understand that he carries letters of recommendation conceived in terms very honorable for him, from the first Minister of State

to the Minister of H. C. M. in the U. S. Under the circumstances I have assured him for his consolation, that tho' a stranger he may expect ample justice in the tribunals of the U. S., and if his Cause should appear just, may I presume to solicit such advice & countenance for him as may appear not improper to be afforded to a stranger in his situation.

I have the honour to remain

Your Excy's Mo ob & mo. hble Servant

D. HUMPHREYS.

His Excy THOS McKEAN, Esq.

Governor of the State of Pennsylvania, &c., &c.

Phila.¹

ESCURIAL December 8, 1800.

SIR:—

I have received a letter of a very unexpected tenour from His Excellency the Chevalier de Urguiss, relative to your business. In that letter the same first Minister of State informs me "that the declarations which have been taken upon the capture of the Dutch Ships Peace and Emerald which the English effected in the road of Barcelona, vehement indications result that the operations of the Enemy were aided by James Mills Captain of the American Ship, Catherine of Baltimore, which is now embargoed in the said port for the results of the judgment." His Excellency the Chevalier de Urguiss then proceeds to state "Under such circumstances it is indispensable to have a declaration of the said Captain and that he should be confronted with the Witnesses, which cannot be done because the said Mills is actually here." And therefore his majesty directs, the said first Minister, to communicate this to me, "hoping that I will be pleased to dispose him (meaning the said Mills) to return to that Place, and yield himself to certain formalities, which being just, are equally indispensable for the clearing up of the old cause." All which I now communicate to you for your intelligence and discretion. For not having any authority over your actions as a free Agent, or control over your

¹ Pennsylvania Historical Society, Philadelphia, Pa.

person as a Citizen of the United States, I shall not assume to take any measure in consequence of the before mentioned letter, in my public character. But if I were allowed to give you any advice in my private character, it would be to return without delay to Barcelona, to confront any witnesses who may be brought against you, in fine to furnish every satisfaction to this Government which may be in your power. And this advice I should give you the rather because I have a full confidence in the rectitude of the Royal intentions in general, and that in your cause in particular as soon as the truth shall come to His Catholic Majesty's understanding you cannot fail of meeting with that justice to which you are entitled; because it is not to be expected that the examination can last but a few days; and because in the dernier resort, your innocence being manifest to our own Government I cannot entertain the smallest doubt that such effectual protection will be afforded as will procure indemnification for all the losses, expenses and damages which have been or may be incurred by this most extraordinary detention.

Indeed I had thought that the facts and arguments which I have already had the honour to offer to the consideration of the first Minister of State of His Catholic Majesty in your justification, and to prove that from the very nature of the circumstances, it was physically as well as morally impossible that you should have aided the British in the capture of the ships in question, must have carried conviction with them. I still think they will be conclusive with our own Government to which they have been transmitted, as well as to the impartial world which may possibly have occasion to judge of them.

I shall still endeavour to impress upon the mind of the First Minister of His Catholic Majesty the importance of the earliest possible decision, by repeating what I have already said of the aggregate losses, expenses, and damages which are suffered by the detention of your ship: and that even now it is reduced to such a ruinous situation that you cannot in justice to yourself or your owners take charge thereof, unless an indemnification be made at the time so as to enable you to make

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all the great and necessary reparations, without which it would be impracticable for you to proceed to sea.

With sentiments of due consideration, I am Sir,
Your most obedient & most humble Serv't.

D. HUMPHREYS.

Captain JAMES MILLS, of the ship Catherine of Baltimore,
Madrid.¹

MADRID, Jan 2nd. 1801.

DEAR SIR,

I received your letter announcing the Blockade of Leghorn by the British fleet, as it had been officially communicated to you. In consequence of which I have extended the communication to our Minister at Lisbon, as Mr. Young will be our consular Agent in the North of Spain. Your letters now come regularly to hand. Captn Mills set out this day on his return to Barcelona.

This letter will be delivered to you by Mr. Ronchamps, a Frenchman by birth, but who has been for a long time established in the U. S. He is recommended to me by Governor McKean of Pennsylvania and Genl Hamilton of New York. I have found him a very well-bred and agreeable person in Society. Should it be in your power to show him any civility or render him any services during his stay in Barcelona you will particularly oblige,

Dear Sir,

Your mo. ob. and mo. hble Servt.

D. HUMPHREYS.

WILLIAM WILLIS, Esqr.

Consul of the U. S. of America, &c.

Barcelona.²

There is extant the outside wrapper of a letter addressed to Mr. Willis which is interesting because it has on it one of the best impressions of Colonel Humphreys' seal with his Coat of Arms, endorsed: "David Humphreys, Madrid, 28 June, 1799."¹ To John Marshall, who had

¹ Dewell Collection, New Haven, Conn.

² *Ibid.*

succeeded Timothy Pickering as Secretary of State on May 12, 1800, Humphreys writes:

MADRID, Janry 13, 1801.

SIR:—

I have this day had the honour to receive your original Dispatch No. 2 dated the 8th of Septr; by way of Bilboa. A few days since a duplicate of your Dispatch No. 3 dated Septr 23, accompanied by various Documents also came to hand. The triplicate of the former which was received under cover with the latter, was rendered totally illegible by the precautions taken in the Post Office to prevent the introduction of contagious disease. I have already passed some offices to the first Secry of State on the subject contained in your No. 2; and shall pay the most prompt attention to the Instructions communicated in both.

Since my last letter to you, I have had a long conference with the first Secretary of State, in which I, in some measure anticipated the pleasure of the President, as expressed in your two above mentioned dispatches, by endeavoring by the most forcible reasons in my power to persuade this Government of the expediency of putting a period to that species of interruption which is still given to our Commerce by Privateers fitted out in the ports of Spain, and the justice of making a compensation for all the losses prejudices, & damages which our City have hitherto suffered from such depredations. Knowing it was impossible he should have a distinct recollection of anything more than the general policy attempted to be impressed on his mind in conversation, I reserved myself for making written representations on the different subjects of reclamation. Nothing could be more fair or friendly than the assurances which he gave of his own dispositions & those of his Sovereign, in regard to the U. S.—I have made repeated representations in writing but I have as yet received no answers which enable me to judge definitely of the result. . . . All I shall now add on this subject, is, that I still continue to receive frequent reports of vessels belonging to Citizens of the U. S. carried into Algeciras by Privateers fitted out in the ports of Spain; and

* In the possession of the Author.

that in some instances where they have been captured by French & Spanish armed vessels or boats jointly, they have been delivered by the Agents of the former to the Agents of the latter, under a conviction that they would not at present be condemned as legal prizes by French Tribunals. Of which I have complained in the most explicit terms to the Secretary of State.

The enclosed Royal Decree, conceived in uncommonly pointed terms, will show that nothing is wanting to complete the disgrace of the late acting first Secry of State. In the meantime the influence of the Prince of Peace, which has never ceased to be great becomes every day more powerful.

He has been created Generalissimo of all the Spanish Forces and is to command the Army destined for the invasion of Portugal. His friends are employed in all the highest Offices of Government. The Chevr de Azarra who was recalled from his Embassy at Paris during the Administration of the Chevr de Urguijo, is again named Ambassador to the French Republic.

The late successes of the French are truly astonishing. Genl Dessolles writes (from the army of Moreau) on the 26th of Decr. "the Enemy have lost in 20 days 70 leagues of Territory, 25,000 Prisoners, from 12 to 15,000 killed & wounded, 140 pieces of Cannon & immense Magazines."

Genl Brune writes (from Italy) about the same date. "He had crossed the Mincio & killed & taken 12,000 Austrians within four days past." From the facts attending the late suspension of Hostilities & the orders given to Count de Cobentzel to treat separately, it is not doubted here that a Treaty of Peace cannot fail to be concluded between the Emperor & France.

I enclose a letter which I have lately received from Consul O'Brien at Algiers, as also one for Mr. Yznardi, which I request you will forward to the Gentlemen.

With Sentiments of great respect & esteem,

I have the honour to be Sir,

Your mo ob & Mo hble Servt,

D. HUMPHREYS.

The Secretary of State.

&c., &c., &c.

MADRID February 24th 1801.

SIR:—

In my last letter of the 13th ultimo, with a Postscript of the 23d I did myself the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Dispatches No. 2 and 3 and to assure you I should pay the most prompt attentions to the instructions communicated in them. I have now the pleasure of informing you that I have passed Offices, exactly in conformity to those instructions, to the first Minister of State on every subject mentioned in them, except the Case of the ship Orion Captain Farmer. That case having been brought by appeal before the Supreme Council of War and an early day having been assigned for its hearing. I found I could do nothing that might tend to accelerate the decision. In effect it was heard on Saturday last. I was present at the pleadings; Captain Farmer's Lawyer made an able defence, in every respect much superior to that of the opposite Party; the Sentence is not yet known. On the other individual Cases, I am unable to send to you the correspondence, for want of sufficient assistance to copy it. In my Note to the first Minister of State of His Catholic Majesty on the important objects pointed out in your Dispatch No. 2. I had little more to do than to convey to him in a diplomatic form, with all the candour, delicacy and clearness in my power, the sentiments which you had furnished. I here-with enclose to you a copy of his answer. Just before the departure of the Court for Aranjuez, I obtained a particular audience of him, in which I thanked him for the friendly and explicit terms in which he had communicated his Catholic Majesty's assurances of doing justice. I mentioned that I had observed he had referred that part of my letter which treated of capture made by French Privateers (equipped in whole or in part in Spanish ports) to the French Ambassador; that it was consistent with the frankness I had ever used to repeat, that whatever the answer of that Ambassador might be, the United States could only consider the Spanish Government as responsible for all the property of their Citizens illegally brought and condemned by whatever Tribunal within the territories of His Catholic Majesty, as explained in my

Note; that I was particularly desirous of knowing whether His Majesty proposed that arrangements, for fixing the quantum of indemnification should be made at Madrid or in the United States; and that I begged permission to intimate that for certain purposes it would doubtless be preferable in the United States particularly for ascertaining whether the vessels in dispute were really American or not since it had been pretended in many instances that their Papers were false. He said he could only confirm the general assurances of his Majesty's intentions to do full justice; that most of the vessels having been taken by French Privateers, it was proper to have recourse to that Government concerning those captures, and that it was for this reason he had communicated this part of my Note to the French Ambassador; and that as to the place where the arrangements were to be made, it was not yet decided, tho' it rather appeared to him the settlement might be best made in Spain, as the principal part of the Papers and Documents would be most easily produced here, that however it was necessary to consider the subject maturely and determine upon a full investigation upon that which would be most convenient and equitable. I replied, that he could not but remark that it was an object of great magnitude to the Citizens of the United States that the business should be brought to an early conclusion; that the American Government had delayed the application for a considerable time in hopes a Spanish Minister would have been sent to the United States with whom the arrangements might have been made; and that now my instructions were peremptory to press the decision as much as possible. I added, that he could not but perceive by the explicit manner in which the subject had been brought forward that the American Government was in earnest in its endeavours to obtain speedy satisfaction for our Citizens. This induced him to advert to the Note which he said, it must be avowed was a little hard (he used the expression *dure*) from one friendly Power towards another. I rejoined that the sentiments I had made use of were those of my Government and seemed to be justified by the circumstances; and that as to the expressions they were such as had been dictated by a strong

sense of respect for His Catholic Majesty; that it must be acknowledged the patience and moderation of the American Government as well as the sufferings of their Citizens had been very great; that no unfavourable imputation had however been cast on the Government of the Catholic King, as it was believed the offences complained of were neither authorized or patronized by it; but that on the contrary, it was a proof of the sincere desire of the United States to remove all causes of misintelligence and to cherish a friendly intercourse between the two Nations, by having been thus candid in stating facts and asking reparation of wrongs, which it was fully persuaded would not be denied as soon as they should be officially known; and particularly that a repetition of them would be prevented. He allowed that the Note was perfectly within the rules of Diplomatic Decorum, had been committed by Spanish Subjects entirely contrary to the intentions of His Catholic Majesty, especially at a distance where many things might have been done of which the Government was ignorant; that it is the Royal pleasure that complete indemnification should be made where injuries had been sustained; but that for this purpose it was incumbent on the Government to take time, obtain information and adopt such measures as should be just as well as effectual. I remarked that nothing appeared better calculated for this purpose than the institution of a Commission (when the principles should have been explained in detail) upon the model of that establishment by the 21st Article of the Treaty of 1795. To this he did not offer any objection.

I urged the good policy or even indispensable necessity of resorting immediately and seriously to this measure, in observing that the longer objects of misunderstanding and irritation were suffered to exist, the more difficult they were to be accommodated. I mentioned the possibility many of our citizens were in (from the treatment they had experienced) not to receive themselves and communicate to others unfavorable sensations that there were bounds beyond which the forbearance of no Government could be expected to extend; that it was not for me to say, what the consequences might be, if such aggravating acts as had been committed, should be con-

tinued; that the American Government was roused to a resolution to protect its lawful navigation at all possible risks; that our Citizens and their property, when legally navigating on the high Sea, had been alternately the prey of English and French Armed vessels; that a war would have been inevitable between the United States and those Countries, if their Government had not at length been wise enough to have changed their system by putting a period to that piracy; that it was certain the Government of the United States after having braved the vengeance of two of the greatest Powers in the world and put its commerce under shelter from the spoilitions of their Cruizers, would never suffer any hostile aggressions to be made on its flag by any Nation whatever without exerting all the means in its power to vindicate its rights to a free navigation; and that I was fully confident, the Ministry of the Catholic King, enlightened as to the true national interests in its exterior relations, and appreciating the value of a friendly intercourse between Spain and the United States, would excite such sovereign Determinations as should be best calculated to encrease and strengthen the mutually advantageous ties between our two Nations, for I sincerely thought that the amical connection of the United States with Spain more interesting to the latter, than that of any Country in the World, except France.

I then touched on the discouragement which the commerce of the United States had often experienced from the bad conduct of subaltern Officers in the ports of His Catholic Majesty; and I enumerated several instances of peculiar hardship, of different natures, respecting, which I had passed Notes to his Predecessor in office and to himself; such as the case of Captain Mills at Barcelona, Captain Post at Majorca, Captain Taylor at Carthagena, Captain Vredenburg at Cadiz, &c. and I expressed a hope that they would be immediately concluded in a satisfactory manner. I intimated that I should also communicate to him several instances of enormities committed in the Spanish Colonies against Citizens of the United States, which demanded prompt and exemplary justice. I requested that he would strive to accelerate the decisions (as I knew much

depended on his recommendations) of the American Processes, which had been so long depending, always to the great loss of property and sometimes to the ruin of the real Owners, however they might finally obtain judgment in their favour. He promised that he should always be ready to receive my communications with merited attention. He added that he knew Cases were, at times, protracted to a great length by the necessary forms of the Tribunals, which it was requisite should be complied with, but that he would willingly do everything in his power to hasten the decisions as far as the legal proceedings would allow.

I proceeded to present a picture of the horrors committed on the persons and property on board of neutral vessels by private armed vessels, according to the system in which privateering had been generally prosecuted; and I referred him for my opinion of the impolicy and injustice of it, to the first Note which I had the honour of addressing to the Prince of Peace upon my arrival at this Court. I concluded by repeating in unequivocal terms the demand contained in my Note, that effectual measures should be taken for preventing Privateers fitted out in the ports of His Catholic Majesty from cruizing on the commerce of the United States. To all which he lent an attentive hearing and promised a compliance.

In consequence of my enquiry, whether Mr. de Orosco would proceed immediately on his mission to the United States, *he said that gentleman was soon expected here and would make no delay in proceeding to his destination. From this conference, and a conversation which I had the next day with persons charged with the business of the U. S. in the Department of Foreign Affairs, I inferred 1st That this Government will never make any compensation for neutral property taken and carried into ports of Spain by French privateers and there condemned by French tribunals unless compelled to it by force. This, in my opinion, is the true design in referring a part of my note to the French Ambassador; 2nd. That this Government will not take any measure for establishing a commission upon the model of the 21st article of the treaty of 1798 if it can possibly be avoided.*¹

¹ The part here given in Italics is in the original all in cypher.

As it appears more than probable from what the first Minister of State said to me, that, whenever a Commission for liquidating and deciding on the claims of American Citizens shall be agreed to this Court will insist upon having the Commissioners sit in Madrid, might it not be advisable for the American Government to send, without loss of time, an Agent of Claims to this Country to be provided also with a Commission to enter on the business of a final settlement, as soon as the arrangements for the purpose can be made. Or, in case the consent of this Court can be obtained for the settlement to be made by Commissioners sitting in America, this Agent or Commissioner, after obtaining all the instructions and knowledge possible on the subject might himself collect, take charge of and carry the Documents and Papers to the United States. Unless some such project shall be adopted, I foresee long delay. The extensive claims of the neutral Powers and the embarrassed state of the finances in this Country, will certainly render an early payment of Damages inconvenient, and may consequently furnish motives for increasing the delays. Such an Agent or Commissioner could be exactly instructed in all the points to be insisted upon. And the amount of property in question is doubtless an object of sufficient value to warrant even a much more considerable expence.

The extraordinary delays which take place in business in this Country may be instanced in the claim of Messrs. Gregory and Scobie. Altho' the Ministry have not positively refused the payment that is to say, under the condition of responsibility on the part of Messrs. Joyces, the holders of the Award, yet it is not made current at the Treasury to this day. And had it been accepted, as was required, it is doubtful, whether even so trifling a sum could have been paid. In the exigency of affairs a Government may be obliged to have recourse to expedients to gain time, even when it intends to be just. I shall transmit to you my correspondence with the first Minister of State, when it can be copied, in order to show nothing has been wanting on my part for obtaining payment.

I was glad to learn from the first Minister of State that an

award in favour of Martin Bicker for 183643 Ps 3/2 rr had been paid by the Intendant at the Havana; and I informed the Minister that I should make it known to you for your satisfaction. Perhaps, in future it might be eligible to have the Awards made payable in that place.

In conformity to my promise in a former letter, I enclose the sequel of the correspondence on the subject of quarantine. It will be difficult for you to conceive what embarrassment has been suffered by our commerce and what trouble has been experienced by myself, in consequence of the excessive precautions which have been adopted with respect to vessels, which were exposed to be lost from their dangerous positions and which were entirely loaded with articles incapable of receiving or communicating infection. Every prudent and proper measure for preventing the introduction or propagation of fatal diseases is certainly just and cannot be complained of by foreigners however they may suffer inconveniences from the regulations. But there is clearly a distinction between proper and excessive precautions. Happily the Malady which has committed such terrible ravages in Andalusia has disappeared, but apprehensions are still entertained that it may again make its appearance with the warm season.

I put under this cover for you an original letter from Consul O'Brien just received and the copy of a letter written by Consul Cathcart at Tripoli on the 2nd of January to our Consuls at Tunis and Algiers. From this communication you will perceive the fears of the Writer that a rupture may soon happen with that Regency: Permit me to suggest, whether the circumstance which he alludes to does not afford an additional motive for our immediately having a small naval force in the Mediterranean? And permit me to refer to my sentiments on this point, as expressed more at large in the Postscript of my last letter.

The French Commissary General of commercial Relations, who came from Algiers to Alicante, in the ship Washington, Captain Bainbridge, exculpates the Dey for declaring war against the French Republic as much as he can by imputing the blame to the Grand Signior. We have not yet heard

that Tunis and Tripoli have followed the example of Algiers but there can be little doubt of it.

The French Government in courting the friendship of the Emperor of Russia seems to have the affairs of the east in view. How far it may be for or against the interest of the former to wish for the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire, is not for me to say. It is certain the wish is to keep possession of Egypt, and thereby injure the English commerce. The fate of Egypt attracts the general attention. It rests to be seen, whether the army under the orders of General Abercrombie will have been joined by the Turks and made good its debarkation, before the small reinforcement from Brest, which passed the straits the 9th and Alicante the 18th instant can reach Alexandria. In the first case, it is thought the French army must Capitulate; in the latter, that it may still retain possession of that Country.

Captain Bainbridge sailed a few days ago from Alicante for Gibraltar and the United States.

Since the Embargo was laid in England on Danish, and Swedish as well as Russian vessels, the demand for American Ships has greatly encreased. It is known that the British Cruizers capture all Danish and Swedish vessels which they meet with at Sea, without waiting for orders.

At length we have the certain intelligence of the conclusion of a Treaty of Peace between the Emperor of Germany and the French Republic.

It is published in the official Gazette at Paris, of the 24th of Pluviose. I have read it, but cannot obtain a copy. The boundaries are those which were announced some time since in the Consular Message. The Emperor has undertaken *spontaneously* to negotiate for the Empire and to procure the Ratification within thirty days. Thus the Germanic Constitution has become a nullity. The Duke of Parma is to have the Grand Dutchy of Tuscany and the Grand Duke to be indemnified in Germany. The Batavian Helvetic, Cisalpines and Ligurian Republics, are guaranteed by both the contracting Powers. No mention is made of the King of Sardinia, the Pope or the King of Naples.

The dispute between France and Portugal has become serious for the latter, in the extremest degree. An extraordinary ambassador arrived here from Lisbon about four days ago. His Powers extended to an adhesion in totality to the Treaty negotiated more than three years ago (then refused to be ratified by the Court of Lisbon) and to an augmentation of the Sum of Money to be paid by Portugal to France. These conditions have been rejected. And the Court of Lisbon is required to accede to the Treaty of Basle (between France and Spain) that is, in effect, to declare war against England, to put an Embargo on all English vessels and property, and to admit garrisons to watch over the execution of the Convention. These terms not having been accepted, the two Portuguese Ambassadors have received orders to leave this Court. Last night, at midnight, they sent from Aranjuez for four Coaches to go from Madrid immediately to bring them to this Capital. The French Ambassador informed me, last evening a Carrier had just arrived from the Duke de Frias, the Spanish Ambassador at Lisbon, giving information that he had quitted that Court; and that intelligence had been received there of a change of ministry in England. The latter fact many persons doubt, because we have news from London by way of Paris to the 8th of this month, when that event had not taken place, although there had been many false reports of that kind. However it may be, the Prince of Peace, who communicated the intelligence to the French Ambassador, set out instantly for the Sitio . . . and it is imagined this circumstance may possibly retard the departure of the Portuguese Ambassadors until farther advice shall be received from Lisbon.

You will learn, that Ceracci and his companions, reputed Jacobins, have been executed at Paris, for the conspiracy entered into some time ago to assassinate the first Consul at the opera; and that the subsequent plot for destroying him by means of what is called the infernal machine is attributed to the Royalists. So that his life seems equally obnoxious to danger from the opposite Parties. The Extraordinary Tribunals, lately established to frustrate or punish such attempts &c. have occasioned very animated Debates. But the Law

was passed by a great majority. I avail myself of this first opportunity of transmitting to you the copy of a letter from H. C. Majesty's first Minister of State to me, containing a complaint against the Captain of the armed vessel of the United States, the Ganges, which I have promised to bring to the knowledge of the American Government, and to return an answer as early as the circumstances would allow. For which object I have the honour to request that the President's pleasure may be communicated to me.

With sentiments of great respect and esteem,

I have the honour to be Sir,

Your most obedient & most hble servant

D. HUMPHREYS.

P. S. Since writing the preceding I have obtained a copy of the Treaty between Emperor and France which I forward herewith.

The Secretary of State, &c., &c., &c.

MADRID May 8th 1801.

DEAR SIR,

Upon receiving the certain tho' not official intelligence of your having been elected to the Chief Magistracy of the U. S. I offer my sincere & ardent vows to Heaven that your Administration may be highly useful to your Country & glorious to yourself.

In Septr last I had the honour of addressing a letter to you by Mr. Henry Preble, recommending him as a suitable Character to be named Consul of the U. S. at Cadiz. I have lately heard of his nomination by your Predecessor . . . for which I rejoice, because I think he possesses the qualities necessary for that place.

Without the design of interrupting for many minutes your more important occupations, I could not resist the pleasure of expressing how sensibly I was affected with your Speech, when you entered upon the execution of the Office of President. I need not say it has been extremely applauded on this side of the Atlantic. For myself I might perhaps have taken the

more pride in the perusal in finding your sentiments accord with those which I have occasionally committed in writing long ago, & which will probably have been printed before this shall reach you. At least they are in my judgment, the sentiments of genuine Republicans and of genuine American federalism.

Nor will I trespass on your time by repeating a detail of the complicated affairs of this Mission.

My correspondence with & reports to the Department of State, for almost four years past during my residence here, will have given a tolerably correct idea of the numerous & disagreeable subjects of discussion which have fallen to my lot. I have endeavoured on all occasions to combine firmness with conciliation the fortiter in re, with the suaviter in modo, as far as has been in my power. How far I have succeeded it is for others to determine. In attention, industry, zeal & perseverance I know I have not been wanting. No letter or application of any of our Countrymen, on business, which I have ever received, has remained unattended to or unanswered.

I believe I have presented more Memorials & Notes to the Ministers of H. C. M. than have been presented by all the other Ministers of the U. S. at all the Courts of Europe, since the Declaration of Independence. I have had a constant struggle to maintain. Almost everything which has been gained has been by perseverance.

Influenced by a sense of duty nothing, I trust, can discourage me from pursuing that energetic & delicate system of conduct, which I judge best calculated to defend the rights of our Citizens, and to prevent a misintelligence between the American & Spanish Governments. The final result of that conduct is more than I can understand to predict. Had I not arrived at this Court at the time I did the French Directory would, in all probability, have prevented the Posts on the Mississippi from having been delivered to us; thus would have induced a war between the U. S. & Spain. Altho' most of my applications to this Government in the cases of Individuals have had little other advantage than that of keeping alive the

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claims which have been exhibited; yet I have sometimes, by the dint of reasoning & persevering had the satisfaction of preventing great embarrassments to our commerce, & heavy losses to our Citizens which must inevitably have been experienced but for my efforts. I have caused to be restored to American Citizens, in a single instance more property than the amount of my whole Salary since I have been in the Service of the U. S., and very lately I have saved for others more than 60,000 Dollars which certainly would have been forever lost to them but for my interference.

I might cite a number of other similar examples.

I have not confined myself merely to report to the Department of State, the political transactions which have occurred in this Peninsula.

I have constantly laboured to keep the Government informed of the events which have happened in the rest of this quarter of the World. In order that this sketch should not be irksome, I have abstained from tedious reflections . . . knowing that others were as capable as myself of deducting conclusions from the facts which were offered. When you was Secretary of State, I recollect you afforded me much satisfaction by saying you often received information of important events sooner from me than from any other Person in Europe. And Genl Washington afterwards gratified my feelings not a little by alluding to the regularity of my official correspondence. I am conscious that I have not since relaxed my exertions . . . and by advertizing to the number of my letters from this corner of Europe you will probably be of the same opinion. I am persuaded you will excuse me for continuing the same habitual regularity, even tho' there be not objects of magnitude to communicate. I write for possible utility not for show or reputation. For I am sensible that even the negative intelligence of there being no news, is sometimes interesting.

You will in all probability learn from England the state of affairs in the North of Europe at an earlier period than from Spain. Yet as a kind of commentary on the Convention between England & Denmark communicated in my public letter of this day, I take the liberty of enclosing to you a

confidential & friendly communication, made to me by the Baron de Shubart Minister of Denmark to this Court now at Copenhagen. The undisguised observation of a man versed in Politics, tho' expressed in haste, on the spot, will frequently bring one better acquainted with the real situation of affairs than the most elaborate Diplomatic dissertations when intended for the public eye. I did not venture to say anything here concerning my opinion of the general necessity of our maintaining a navy to a certain extent & particularly a small naval force in the Mediterranean; because you will probably have seen what I have already committed to paper, on these subjects, in print, before this can reach you. The same reason prevents me from repeating what I have mentioned to the two former Presidents of the U. S. on the means of manning our public armed vessels. Gen Washington went out of Office before he received my letter. And I know not whether that which I addressed to Mr. Adams with the same object ever reached him. I have alluded to both in my Thoughts on the necessity of maintaining a Navy in the U. S.

With the highest respect & esteem
I have the honour to be, Dear Sir,
Your Mo ob & Mo hble Servant,

D. HUMPHREYS.

THOS. JEFFERSON

President of the U. S. of America.

While in Madrid, he was as ever the staunch friend of the merchant marine. He has, in his "Remarks on the War between the United States and Tripoli," dated November 1, 1802, shown how jealously he guarded it from the slightest molestation.

To avoid introducing anything irrelevant, I shall omit to mention many particulars concerning my ministry, during the protracted and distressing period in which a considerable number of our countrymen were detained in slavery at Algiers. Such of them as are still living will, I am confident bear testimony to the zeal with which I attempted to promote the

public cause, and, at the same time, to put a period to their individual suffering. I assume no claim to credit for thus doing what was not immediately within the limits of my duty as a minister at a particular court; but I may, perhaps, be permitted to indulge the gratification which is derived from a consciousness of having cheerfully, faithfully, and disinterestedly executed that trust. If the inconveniences of many voyages, and especially the perils of a winter passage across the western ocean, and of being driven repeatedly from the American coast, after having been long at sea, in a leaky ship, with a debilitated crew, contributed to hasten the release of our brave countrymen, not from ideal and figurative, but real and galling chains, it was enough. At last the day of their redemption arrived. Treaties of amity were finally concluded with all the Barbary states, by agents under my direction. New outrages were, however, again meditated by one of them, as thus announced in my communications to the Secretary of State.¹ "This letter is particularly intended to transmit to government the circular letter received this day from our Consul at Tripoli announcing the imminent danger of an immediate rupture with that regency. While I refer this communication to your attention, I cannot but anticipate from the various representations heretofore made by our Consuls in Barbary, that adequate measures will already have been taken to avert the blow." On another occasion² these words were used: "I think I cannot display too much eagerness in communicating to you, by different conveyances, the news this moment received by me from Algiers. I hasten then to transmit copies of Consul O'Brien's letters to the 6th instant, which came to me through the department of the first minister of State of his Catholic Majesty. From the last of these letters you will learn that the Bey of Tripoli, having refused the mediation of Algiers, the presents sent from thence, and the bills of Consul Cathcart, was determined upon war against the United States, and was sending his cruizers to sea accordingly. It is devoutly to be wished that he may soon have reason to

¹ See letter dated Madrid, February 6, 1801.

² Letter to the Secretary of State, dated Madrid, April 14, 1801.

repent this wicked and rash proceeding at his leisure. As it is a considerable time since Consul Cathcart (whom I consider a very faithful and diligent public officer) took the wise precaution of giving extensive advice of the great probability of this event, I cannot but hope that our unarmed merchant vessels will not be exposed to the hazard of falling into the possession of these pirates, but that they will rather be retained in port (however inconvenient or expensive it may be—until they can be protected by armed vessels of the United States.)

"On the policy of repelling force by force, and of blocking the ports of this aggressor, I can add little to the motives which I have already had the honour to offer. I may, however, just be allowed to say, that the circumstances seem more than at any former time to reduce us to the alternative of having a few frigates and light armed vessels in the Mediterranean, or of relinquishing our trade in it. To be at war with one of the Barbary powers subjects our commerce to nearly the same risks as to be at war with all of them. To chastise that haughty, but contemptible Power which now dares to insult us by its aggression, would serve not only as a salutary example to the other piratical states, but it would produce an almost incalculable effect in elevating our national character in the estimation of all Europe. National character and public opinion are far from being unimportant objects, and more particularly as they respect a rising people. The manliness of this conduct of nobly defending our commerce from piracy, so different from that which has been pursued by all the civilized nations toward these barbarians, would raise the reputation of our nascent marine in our judgment, at the same time that it would strike with astonishment those who, for a succession of ages, have submitted to the most humiliating indignities wantonly inflicted on them by a handful of banditti; and you may rest assured that it would form, as it were, a new arena in the naval history of mankind."

Not long afterwards I continued my official correspondence¹ in conveying to the Secretary of State the subsequent informa-

¹ In a letter dated Madrid, May 8, 1801.

tion: "I have this day received advice from the Consul of the United States at Genoa, to the following effect: 'I have now further to inform, that by advice given to Commodore Tornquist, from the Swedish Consul, at Tunis, of the 24th March, communicated to Consul Appleton, at Leghorn, *the Bashaw of Tripoli did actually declare war against the United States of America* on the 26th of February; and several privateers sailed from Tripoli early in March, to cruize against the Americans.'

"I trust a squadron will ere this be in the Streights, to show these barbarians what the Americans are, and can do. Interim, I think it incumbent on me to embargo all Americans in this port, to prevent our fellow citizens from falling into captivity, unless the vessels are strongly armed, and in every way able to repel the attacks of those ruffians." I proceed to say—"I have also this day received a letter from Consul Willis, at Barcelona, under date of the 2d instant, informing me that there are twenty-two American vessels detained in that port, on account of the danger apprehended from the corsairs of Tripoli. He had before written to me that he should recommend to the masters of American vessels to remain in port until they could be protected by a convoy. The government will perceive the choice of evils to which our citizens concerned in trade to the Mediterranean are reduced, and will doubtless occupy its attention on the means of averting them."

The agreeable intelligence of the arrival of a few of our national frigates, with one armed schooner, to protect the trade in the Mediterranean, and the reflections occasioned by it, were thus expressed¹—"Since the date of my last dispatch to you, I have received a letter from Commodore Dale, dated in Gibraltar Bay, the 2d instant, giving an account of the arrival of the squadron under his command; of his having found there the High Admiral of Tripoli, with one ship and one brig; and of his own design to sail for Algiers the next day, leaving one of his frigates to watch the motions of *those vessels of Tripoli*. Nothing could have been more opportune for the protection of our commerce, than the arrival of this force, to prevent

¹ In the letter to the Secretary of State dated Madrid, July 27, 1801.

them from proceeding into the western ocean, where, in a few days cruize between Cadiz and Lisbon, they might, in all human probability, have produced the most disastrous consequences, by capturing the property of our merchants to an amazing amount, and making slaves of a great number of our citizens.

"By the same courier who brought the before mentioned letter from Commodore Dale, I received a packet from Consul O'Brien, expedited from Algiers the 24th of last month, containing also a letter for yourself, which will be transmitted herewith. Notwithstanding he mentions the report that some of our merchant vessels had been taken by the corsairs of Tripoli, yet, from the circumstance of his having received no recent communications from the other Barbary states, from that of there having been no information of such a disaster sent to me by any of our Consuls in Italy or Spain, and, above all, from the very early knowledge of the danger which had been spread in every port of the Mediterranean, so that our seafaring citizens could not have been ignorant of it, I cannot but hope the report is unfounded. Fortunate, indeed, will it be for us, if our Mediterranean *trade* should escape the threatened peril, with only the damage it must suffer from having been interrupted for a short period; as I flatter myself that whatever might have been the idea at the time of the sailing of Commodore Dale's squadron from America, that *trade* will never again be left in the same exposed situation. Knowing, as I do, that the great and increasing value of *it*, in all points of estimation, is fully appreciated by government, I shall only remark that the Dutch in common with most of the belligerent powers, having lost their carrying trade, the Danes and Swedes having had their activity paralyzed by the stroke given by England to their navigation, and the Hanseatic towns and Prussians having no vessels in the Mediterranean, on account of their being at war with the Barbary States, no occasion could be more favourable than the present for the encouragement of the American spirit of industry and enterprise in that quarter.

"The unexpected appearance of a squadron from the new world in the Mediterranean, and the consequent decided

measures of declaring the port of Tripoli blockaded, and, as far as possible, carrying that declaration into effect, astonished the Regencies of Barbary at our promptitude and boldness. The intelligence of these proceedings was not only received with approbation and applause by the nations of Europe, but operated powerfully in placing the character of the United States in a more advantageous point of view than it had ever before been contemplated. The progress of our little marine in protecting our commerce, was thus communicated^x to the American Secretary of State.

"From Tunis and Leghorn I learn Commodore Dale had published a notification, purporting 'that the Bashaw of Tripoli having declared war against the United States, the port of Tripoli was blockaded by an armed force of the said States, and that all vessels attempting to enter the same would be treated according to the laws of nations.' This is the first instance (within my recollection, during my residence in Europe) of any of the ports of the Barbary powers being put in a state of blockade, notwithstanding their multiplied piratical aggressions against the Christian nations. I cannot but flatter myself it will produce the happiest consequences, by being a commencement of the verification of the prediction which I made in print more than fifteen years ago, when not a single armed vessel, public or private, was owned in the United States, that the time would come when the United States would be the authors of the system for exterminating the piracies, for so long a time committed with impunity by the Barbary powers." In the postscript to the same communication, it was added "I have received letters from the Captains of the frigates of the United States the Philadelphia and Essex, by the last post from Malaga; and I find by other accounts, that they sailed from thence on the 12th instant, to join Commodore Dale before Tripoli. The Declaration of the blockade of that port by an American naval force has made no inconsiderable sensation in Europe.

"Captain Baron, of the Philadelphia, will doubtless have informed the Secretary of Navy, that, in consequence of his

^x In a letter dated from Madrid, September 10, 1801.

vigilance in watching the two armed vessels of Tripoli at Gibraltar, the High Admiral has been obliged to dismantle and abandon those vessels.

"The Consul of the United States at Gibraltar writes to me that the timely arrival of the squadron under the orders of Commodore Dale, has prevented at least twenty-five merchant ships, belonging to citizens of the United States, with rich cargoes, from falling into the possession of those pirates. I forward to you herewith, a letter from Capt. O'Brien to me, dated at Algiers the 5th of this month, in which he gives a report of an action between the American schooner *Enterprize* and a corsair of Tripoli." The gallant conduct of Capt. Sterrit and his ship's company in that engagement is too well known, and has been too highly honoured by government to require repetition or commendation on this occasion.

With all his occupations he cultivated his poetic talent and wrote his poems "Love of Country" and the "Death of Washington."

The dread of appearing to follow foreign manners and allow American affairs to be influenced by European ideas was strongly felt by Jefferson. He so impressed his views upon his colleagues of the Cabinet and the President, that it became an unwritten law of the Department of State that no minister should remain more than seven years.

When after an exciting contest Thomas Jefferson became, on March 4, 1801, President, one of his first acts was to remove as many of the "Federalist" office-holders as he could.

So, notwithstanding his faithfulness, usefulness, and capability as a foreign representative, Colonel Humphreys did not escape. Without the courtesy of requesting his resignation, Mr. Jefferson wrote him in the first week of his incumbency reminding him of the *lex non scripta*, and appointed Mr. Charles Pinckney to succeed him. Party bitterness and political excitement carried the new nomination through the Senate.

In a dignified tone of suppressed indignation Colonel Humphreys answered the official announcement of his recall:

No. 297.

MADRID Decr 18, 1801.

SIR,

On the 9th inst I met Mr. Charles Pinckney at the Escurial where he had arrived the preceding evening. He then delivered to me your dispatch, dated the 22nd of June last, accompanied with a letter from the President of the U. S. to H. C. M. & containing instructions relative to my taking leave of this Court. All of which will be pointedly complied with; although it cannot escape your reflection & that of the President that it is very inconvenient & unfortunate for me to have received these communications at so late a period, that considerably more time must elapse before I can with safety embark for America, than the three months for which the Salary is allowed to defray the expences of my return, and which are to commence from the day of the delivery of your Dispatch.

As Mr. Pinckney has been much indisposed with a cold & fever most of the time since his arrival & is at present confined to his room, no arrangements have been made for his presenting his letter of Credence to H. C. M.

The only Sister of the King is dead, after an illness of a few days, since I had the honour of writing to you last.

I take the liberty of enclosing the copy of a second Note to the first Minister of State of H. C. M. on the subject of the detention & condemnation (by the Commanding Genl of the Camp of St. Roque) of the Ship Motley of Philadelphia, in order that you may be the better acquainted with the nature of the case.

With Sentiments of perfect consideration & esteem,

I have the honour to be Sir

Your Mo:ob:& Mo:hble Ser

D. HUMPHREYS.

The Secretary of State.¹

¹ U. S. Archives, State Dept., Washington, D. C.

After his arrival in the United States he sent this brief letter to the President:

NEW HAVEN, June 28, 1802.

DEAR SIR,

I had fully determined upon my arrival in the U. S. to have made a journey to the City of Washington, for the express & sole purpose of paying my respects to the President.

But the fatigue & inconvenience which my wife suffered in our voyage from Europe prevented me from carrying that determination into effect; especially as She was unable to accompany me & unwilling to be left alone among Strangers in my absence. A few days ago I arrived in this place with the object of making provision for her residence. In the meantime the warm season having commenced & her health requiring a more cool position, I shall be under the necessity of attending her without delay to New Port. This state of facts I hope will be accepted as a sufficient apology for, as they are the real cause of, any seeming neglect of that homage which is due to the Chief Magistrate of the Union. If after our return from the eastward, which will of course be as soon as the principal heat of the summer shall be passed; you shall judge that any oral communication from me might be of any utility, I will with the highest satisfaction proceed directly to the Seat of Government.

Under these circumstances, I would not defer to have the honour of enclosing the answer of the Catholic King to the letter of Recall which you addressed to H. M., in my behalf. And I think it proper to mention at the same time, the measures which I took to avoid receiving the Royal Present usually offered on similar occasions.

On the 24th of Jan^y last I wrote to the first Secretary of State in the following terms: "It is not probably unknown to your Ex^y that the Constitution of the U. S. prohibits every Person holding any Office of profit or trust under them from accepting any *Present* from any King, Prince or foreign State, without the consent of Congress. Upon this principle, while

I was Minister at the Court of Lisbon, I sent to my Government a Sabre & Belt richly mounted & ornamented in gold, which had been presented to me by the Dey of Algiers.

"Notwithstanding I do not now hold any Office of profit or trust, or of any nature or kind whatsoever under the U. S., and therefore may not be prevented by a fair construction of that article from accepting a *Present* from a King, Prince, or foreign State; yet from motives of personal delicacy & especially from respect to the opinions of some of my fellow Citizens, I should find it prudent to decline receiving the Present of H. C. M., in giving every proof in my power of my profound sensibility & thankfulness to the Royal Donor."

On the 1st of Feb^ry he addressed to me the following reply.

"Muy S^r Mio. Permitame V. S. le diga en contextacion al reparo que en oficio de 24, de Enero proximo pasado me expuso tenia, para recibir el regalo que el Rey mi Amo acostumbra a los Embaxadores y Ministros que han residido cerca de su Persona; que mas se Funda en su escrupulosa delicadeza, que en lo que previene la Constitucion de los Estados Unidos sobre esta materia, y que habiendole admitido los Predecesores de V. S. en la Legacion que acaba de servir; me parece no debe V. S. tener inconveniente en hacer lo mismo, mucho menos si le considera como una expresion honrrosa y calificativa de un Soberano Amigo de su Gobierno. Me repito con este motivo a las ordenes de V. S. y ruego a Dios q^{ue} su(?) M. Á. Aranjuez 1^o de Febrero de 1802. B. L. M. de V. S. su Mas At^o Serv^r Pedro Cevallos."

Immediately on the receipt of this I requested an interview with him, and went accordingly from Madrid to Aranjuez to confer on the subject. In this conversation, after repeating & enforcing the sentiments which I had already expressed verbally & in writing, I informed him, that, if after all I had said & done, it should still be the pleasure of His Majesty to send this token of the Royal favour, I could do no more than to hasten to lay it before the Supreme Executive of the U. S. to be disposed of in such manner as may be thought proper. This I shall perform, should the case however modified occur.

For, notwithstanding all which has passed in the matter, I

have reason to believe a Present will be sent in ornaments intended for my wife, who was so fortunate as to have obtained marks of the peculiar consideration & benevolence of the Queen.

I do not pretend to offer any informations or advices relative to the dispositions of the Court of Madrid or the subjects now in discussion with it, since my *Successor* will doubtless have superseded the necessity of my giving you that trouble. I flatter myself that the reports made by me to the Department of State will have furnished the means of forming a pretty accurate opinion of the relations subsisting between the two Governments & Countries, during my Residence in Spain, in a Diplomatic Character. Yet I must claim indulgence for mentioning again the circumstances & merits of an Individual. Indeed I cannot dispense with my conscientious obligation to renew my recommendation of Mr. Moses Young, who has for so long a time, and with so much fidelity & ability acted as Consul of the U. S. at Madrid, as well as Secretary to me while Minister at that Court. From the former Office he has derived no emoluments or compensation for much labour & an extensive correspondence, as troublesome to himself as useful to others. The pay of the latter was sufficient merely to defray his expenses. The old & faithful Servant of the Public has been left in a very disagreeable situation by the nomination of Mr. Graham as Secretary to the Legation.

I shall only add, that I conceive Mr. Young merits well of the Republic on many accounts, & that few Persons are better calculated for executing the duties of a Commissioner for liquidating & deciding the claims of Citizens of the U. S. on the Spanish Government.

Three or four days previous to my departure from Lisbon I had a private Audience of considerable length of the Prince of Brazil.

His Royal [Highness] made many friendly observations as they related to myself & Country. He indicated some surprise at the suppression of the American Mission to Portugal while such interesting connections exist between the two Nations, in point of commerce, and just at the moment when a Minister Plenipotentiary named by him was on the eve of

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sailing; expressed a desire to maintain the sincerest amity with the U. S., requested his best Compliments might be presented to the President, and intimated his readiness to re-establish a Diplomatic intercourse by appointing a Minister whosoever it should be deemed expedient.

I was sorry to learn from other sources, that there may soon be several unpleasant cases for official representation, respecting property of Citizens of the U. S. detained in foreign Portuguese Possessions which, I presume, it will scarcely be supposed can be made with so good a prospect of success by a Consul as by a proper Diplomatic Agent.

I hope that a letter which I had the pleasure of writing to you, by Duplicates, on the 8th of May 1801, was received; and I beg you will be persuaded that I have the honour to be, with perfect consideration & esteem,

Your Most obed & Most Hble Servt.

D. HUMPHREYS.

THOMAS JEFFERSON President of the U. S. of America.

WASHINGTON, July 15, 1802.

DEAR SIR:—

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of June 28, and sincerely congratulate you on your safe return to your native country. You will doubtless be sensible of an inconceivable change in manners and opinions since you left it; tho' less perhaps in Connecticut than some other places after eleven years absence. I imagine you will find it more difficult to return from European to American habits than the first change was from American to European. It happens too that the state to which you return as well as the adjoining one of Massachusetts is still under the paroxysm of party feelings, which the other states have worked through more quickly. Indeed we are nowhere as yet entirely clear of the wave of agitation which reached us from Europe in the year 1798, but I trust that the follies & violences first of one nation then of another, will shortly have cured us all of European attachments & antipathies, and leave us under a conviction that we have no business to take part in them.

I know of nothing which should hinder you from moving in whatever direction the health of Mrs. Humphreys may require. Our affairs with Spain have probably been fully communicated by your letters, and as to the interesting one of Louisiana, I imagine Spain has not acted nor acts from her own will. The decisions of Paris are what we must prepare to meet. We shall certainly be glad to see you whenever you shall think this place worthy of a visit. The autumn will be pleasanter for the road, but perhaps, after the meeting of Congress, more agreeable as to what is to be seen here. In the meantime accept assurances of my constant esteem & high consideration.

TH. JEFFERSON.

COL. HUMPHREYS.

The strange hostility of President Jefferson to the proper representation of the United States at the European courts has already been shown. It was because of the desire to please France and provide for a member of his own party that he recalled David Humphreys from Madrid. By this act the country lost the benefit of the wide experience which our Minister to Spain had acquired during the twelve years spent upon the Iberian peninsula, and his successful conduct of many delicate negotiations.

The first essay he made in diplomacy as Secretary to the Commission of 1784 to negotiate treaties in Europe proved that he had the suavity of manner, the knowledge of men, and the analytic mind necessary for such a career. The cordial words of the active Commissioners at that time, Governor Jefferson and Mr. Adams, are more than merely perfunctory. The duties of the Secretary were done with that carefulness and precision which were typical of all that Colonel Humphreys did. The engrossing of treaties, the conducting of correspondence in French and German, and the confidential communications

entrusted to him, indicate that he formed for himself an ideal which he faithfully attained.

While the change from the devious ways of European cabinets to the plain living and high thinking of the first administration of Washington was great, he still was a diplomatist. It was his duty to know the business of Congress, to listen to applicants for the President's favour, either for appointment to office, for grants of the public domain, or for the furtherance of bills pending in either House.

The President's Secretary at the present time does not have a more varied sphere of occupation than did the confidential secretary and friend of our first President. In the negotiations with the Creek Indians and the wily McGilivray in 1789 his letters prove that he really saw through the pretexts and evasions of that chieftain, and it is possible that if he had been the head of the Commission he could have effected the treaty.

Had his mission to the Creeks been considered a failure there would have been an end of his career. But Washington knew his former Aide, Jefferson knew his indispensable Secretary, and they united cordially upon sending him on that secret mission to Spain which showed the inadequacy of our Chargé d'Affaires at Madrid to cope with the finesse and double-dealing of the Spanish Foreign Office.

To unravel the tangled skein of casuistry and broken promises was the task of Humphreys. As Minister to Spain, he entered upon his duties at a period when the most pressing questions had been at least temporarily settled. But as we read his letters to the Secretary of State, as we find him rescuing sailors and saving vessels for American citizens, as we see him cultivating cordial and intimate relations not only with the ministers but with the royal family and overcoming the reserve of the

stern old nobility of the proud kingdom, we learn how the way was made plain for that transfer which finally gave Louisiana to the United States.

His whole diplomatic correspondence while largely occupied with minor details has in it a charm of style and a force of language that is lacking in many official communications.

His residence abroad gave to his country a name and fame in Spain and Portugal, and liberated the captive exiles toiling and dying on the sunny, sandy plains of Algiers.

Judged by the influence he wielded at the courts of Lisbon and Madrid, by the respect with which he was treated, by the position and rank which he gained for the American nation, by the deference paid him by the representatives of European powers at the courts to which he was accredited, and by the results accomplished not only during his term of office, but by those which followed in after years from his policy and conduct, we are justified in placing David Humphreys in the very foremost rank of our diplomatists.

CHAPTER XIV

Humphreys' Writings

Humphreys as an Author—Early Poems—The Burning of Fairfield—*Address to the Armies of the United States*—Its Success—Translation by Chastellux—*The Glory of America*—*Future Glory of the United States*—*On the Happiness of America*—Elegy on Lieutenant Hart—Epitaph for Col. Scammel—*Epistle to a Young Lady in Boston*—Ode on Mount Vernon—*The Monkey who Shaved himself and his Friends*—Poem on Industry—Poem on Love of Country—Poem on Death of Washington—Humphreys' Rank as a Poet—His Merits—His *Life of Putnam*—Its Success—Humphreys' Collected Works—*The Widow of Malabar*—*The Yankee in England*—His Addresses—*The Farmer's Hymn*—Biographies of Connecticut Men Planned.

IT is customary for the critics and historians of our literature to pass by with a few indulgent and benevolent sentences of slight commendation, the literary strivings of the small company of writers who were seeking to emerge from provincialism and form a native American literature.

The country was too new and crude, they allege, to produce works of great value and of permanent interest.

The traditional dependence upon England for our mental food, the necessity for developing the material resources of our country, and the absence of any great motive for an epic poem, then the fashion, bound our writers in fetters hard to break. The great writers of England, Pope, Johnson, Goldsmith, and Cowper, were read and admired by the cultured New Englander, the polished Virginian, and the practical New Yorker.

That Addison was the master of style, that literary canons of the age of Queen Anne were those which ought to prevail, were opinions axiomatic with our forefathers.

There were few writers in America either in prose or poetry in the Colonial period who aimed at any higher ideal than clever imitations of English models.

The literature is largely theological and controversial. With the approach of the Revolution there is much sharp and able discussion of political questions.

A few works in biography, history, and annals will always survive, such as Cotton Mather's *Magnolia*, Judge Sewall's *Diary*, Smith's *Virginia*, and the numerous pungent writings of Benjamin Franklin, especially his *Autobiography*. The greater portion, however, of the works of that period will be of interest to the special student more than to the general reader.

It would be presumptuous to claim for David Humphreys the first place among the poets of the Revolution, although he was more widely read than others.

Judged by the standards of the present day his poems are long and wearisome to read; the heroic couplet is no longer considered the best vehicle for poetic thought, the classic style and allusions do not now appeal to readers.

No one, however, who takes the pains to read them, even casually, and compare them with other writings of the time, can fail to observe that there is in them an enthusiasm and patriotic force which were lacking in others.

The little group of which David Humphreys was a member is thus assigned its place by a competent historian and critic of American literature in a notice of Joel Barlow.

It should be mentioned, too, that there were among his contemporaries at Yale several young fellows of unusual ability, and with literary tastes not unlike his own, such as Joseph

Howe, Buckingham St. John, Timothy Dwight, Joseph Buckminster, and David Humphreys, young fellows of Puritan ancestry and Puritan nature and with an ineradicable strain of Puritan earnestness, yet elate like himself with brilliant gifts, full of the fire, mirth, and ambition of youth and all aglow with enthusiasm for the later English poets, essayists, and satirists whose writings brought to them the spell of a higher and finer literary method than had hitherto been known in America, and had sent the unwonted charm of urbane criticism and of high-bred playfulness down into the ponderous and uncouth erudition, the grimness, the provincialism, and controversial truculence, then to some degree characteristic of the intellectual life of New England.¹

The earliest known poems of David Humphreys were written during his college course. With his class poem they seem to have disappeared. The first poem which has been preserved is the *Elegy on the Burning of Fairfield*, written soon after that tragedy. It is in ballad measure, is smooth in versification, and expresses the thoughts of a patriot upon a wanton destruction of life and property in terms of mingled sorrow and indignation. The circumstances under which it was written have been previously given. The poem had a wide circulation upon its appearance and has since been printed in Colonel Humphreys' collected *Works*, and also in histories of Fairfield and Connecticut. While our author was awaiting, in the spring of 1780, assignment to duty, he put into form for publication *The Address to the Armies of the United States*. It was published in New Haven anonymously in an octavo pamphlet of sixteen pages. The secret of the authorship was soon known and many congratulations were given to the young aide for the cheer and patriotic

¹ *The Literary History of the American Revolution, 1763-1783* by Moses Coit Tyler, Professor of American History in Cornell University, New York, London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1897. Vol. i., p. 193.

fervour which his poem incited in troops ill fed, ill clothed, and inactive.

In the original form, it has this dedication:

To all the brave men, whether Officers or Soldiers who compose the Armies of the United States, this Address is most respectfully inscribed by their Brother Soldier and Humble Servant, the Author.

The date of its original composition and the author's design are considered in a previous portion of this Memoir.

Written in heroic measure the poem opens with an apostrophe to the Army:

Ye martial bands! Columbia's fairest pride!
To toils inur'd, in dangers often try'd—
Ye gallant youths! whose breasts for glory burn,
Each selfish aim and meaner passion spurn;
Ye who, unmov'd, in the dread hour have stood,
And smil'd, undaunted, in the field of blood—
Who greatly dar'd, at Freedom's rapt'rous call,
With her to triumph, or with her to fall—
Now brighter days in prospect swift ascend;
Ye sons of fame, the hallow'd theme attend;
The past review; the future scene explore,
And Heaven's high King with grateful hearts adore!

It continues to show the "perfidy of Albion," the necessity of resorting to arms, and recounts the triumphs and also the disappointments which had come to the Continental troops. It gives a due meed of praise to the patient Commander-in-Chief and closes with an aspiration for peace, and pictures the future progress of Columbia.

Then oh, blest land! with genius unconfin'd,
With polish'd manners, and th' illumin'd mind,

Thy future race on daring wing shall soar,
Each science trace, and all the arts explore;
Till bright religion, beck'ning to the skies,
Shall bid the sons to endless glory rise.

As round thy clime celestial joy extends,
Thy beauty ripens, and thy pomp ascends;
Farther and farther still, thy blessings roll,
To southern oceans and the northern pole;
Where now the thorn, or tangled thicket grows,
The wilderness shall blossom as the rose;
Unbounded deserts unknown charms assume,
Like Salem flourish, and like Eden bloom.

And oh, may heav'n! when all our toils are past,
Crown with such happiness our days at last;
So rise our sons, like our great sires of old,
In Freedom's cause, unconquerably bold;
With spotless faith, and morals pure, their name
Spread through the world, and gain immortal fame.

And thou Supreme! whose hand sustains this ball,
Before whose nod the nations rise and fall,
Propitious smile, and shed diviner charms
On this blest land, the queen of arts and arms;
Make the great empire rise on Wisdom's plan,
The seat of bliss, and last retreat of man.

The poem contained originally about four hundred lines. While in Paris as Secretary to the Commission for negotiating commercial treaties in 1785, many requests were made by French officers, literary men, and friends for copies.

Col. Humphreys carefully revised the Address, striking out many passages, and inserting others, making it a brief poetical story of the Revolution. An edition was printed in London in a handsome quarto of twenty-eight

pages. This edition was received with much applause both in France and England. Laudatory notices of it are found in the *Critical Review* for June, 1785, and in the *Monthly Review* for June, 1785.

In 1786 the Marquis de Chastellux, his former companion in arms, an officer high in the French army and an accomplished scholar, translated the poem into French prose. The text in English is given on the opposite pages. The author and the translator are praised in a long notice in *Le Journal de Paris* of May 7, 1786. In its final form it was reprinted by Mathew Carey in the *American Museum*, for March, 1787.¹

The Colonel's second long poem was one on *The Glory of America or Peace Triumphant over War*. It was published in Philadelphia in 1783, and was afterward expanded into *A Poem on the Future Glory of the United States of America*. It was well received by those who read it and by the various periodicals of the day.

His third poem was induced, as he says in a letter to Gen. Washington, by the comments of his European friends on the discomforts of life in the new world. It was intended to show that freedom makes happiness. The first edition was issued in London in a quarto pamphlet of fifty-three pages, and was reprinted the same year in Hartford and again in Portsmouth in 1790, and also appeared in the same number of the *American Museum* with the Address.²

A reviewer in the *Columbian Magazine* for October, 1786, says:

Amidst the favourite pursuits of our countrymen, the Muses had their votaries; nor have those coy maids been unsuccessfully courted. Their genius seems much delighted with our sylvan scenes. The face of nature, throughout the United

¹ Vol. i., pp. 234-240.

² Vol. i., pp. 240, 263.

States, exhibits *the sublime and beautiful*, in the most exalted degree. In almost every part of this country, we are surrounded with objects calculated to inspire the most elevated conceptions of the imagination. Our mountains, valleys, plains, and rivers, are formed upon a great scale; the extent of the country itself is great; and the whole is rendered magnificently beautiful, by the creating hand of the Almighty Architect! And if we contemplate the eminently dignified part that has been recently acted on the vast national stage, with the scenes of magnanimity, wisdom, and patriotic virtue, which our gallant countrymen have exhibited thereon, we must allow, that nothing can afford more noble themes for our native bards.

Among the literary productions of American genius, “*A Poem on the Happiness of America, Addressed to the Citizens of the United States*,” by Colonel Humphreys, claims a superior station. The beauties of this piece do great honour to the author, and discover that he possesses a truly patriotic soul, as well as a mind animated with genuine poetic fire.

As this elegant piece, by some unaccountable circumstance, has not yet made its appearance in the shops of our book-sellers, we beg leave to present the public with a few quotations from it; reminding them at the same time, of the imperfect idea of its merit that mutilated parts of the piece must be supposed to convey.¹

The Poem commences in this vigorous manner:

Oh happy people, ye to whom is giv'n
A land cherish'd with sweetest dews of heav'n!
Ye, who possess Columbia's virgin prime,
In harvests blest of ev'ry soil and clime!
Ye happy mortals, whom propitious fate
Reserv'd for actors on a stage so great!
Sons worthy sires of venerable name,

¹ Quoted in *Works*, edition of 1804, pp. 21, 22.

Heirs of their virtue and immortal fame,
Heirs of their rights still better understood,
Declar'd in thunder, and confirm'd in blood;
Ye chosen race, your happiness I sing,
When your tall fleets shall lift their starry pride,
And sail triumphant o'er the bill'wy tide.

It continues with a rhymed paraphrase of General Washington's farewell to the army promulgated at New Windsor in the spring of 1783. The author follows the hero to his home at Mount Vernon, and then proceeds to show the content and joy which are found in the life of a farmer, drawing with skill pictures of rural occupations and recreations. The garrulous old soldier is introduced that he may fight his battles o'er, which gives the poet opportunity to mention his own experience in the lines:

I too, perhaps, should Heav'n prolong my date, etc.

With enthusiastic pen he depicts the growing power and glory of his country when peace, industry, and happiness shall bear sway, and closes with this invocation:

Then wake, Columbia! daughter of the skies,
Awake to glory, and to greatness rise!
Arise and spread thy virgin charms abroad,
Thou last, thou fairest offspring of a God;
Extend thy view where future blessings lie,
And ope new prospects for th' enraptur'd eye!
See a new æra on this globe begun,
And circling years in brighter orbits run;
See the fair dawn of universal peace,
When hell-born discord through the world shall cease!
Commence the task assign'd by heaven's decree,
From pirate rage to vindicate the sea!

Bid thy live oaks, in southern climes that grow,
 And pines, that shade the northern mountain's brow,
 In mighty pomp descending on the main,
 With sails expanded, sweep the watery plain;
 The rising stars in unknown skies display,
 And bound thy labours with the walks of day.

.

Fraught with the germs of wealth, our seamen roam
 To foreign marts, and bring new treasures home;
 From either Ind' and Europe's happier shore,
 Th' assembled produce crowds the merchant's store;
 From east and west the fruits and spices sweet,
 To our full boards in rich profusion meet;
 Canary isles their luscious vintage join;
 In crystal goblets flows the amber wine;
 European artists send their midnight toil
 For crude materials of our virgin soil;
 For us, in tissue of the silken loom,
 The lilacs blush, the damask roses bloom;
 For us in distant mines the metals grow,
 Prolific source of pleasure, care, and woe!
 Ne'er may our sons for heaps of useless wealth,
 Exchange the joys of freedom, peace or health,
 But make e'en riches to their weal conduce,
 And prize their splendour by their public use!¹

In the *American Museum* for March 1788, several of Colonel Humphreys' minor poems appeared.²

They included the elegy on Lieutenant de Hart, the epitaph for Colonel Scammel, a poetical *Epistle to a Young Lady in Boston*, an ode upon Mount Vernon, and the satirical *Monkey who Shaved himself and his Friends* which has this moral:

¹ *Works*, edition of 1804, p. 41.

² Vol. iii., pp. 273, 281.

MORAL

Who cannot write, yet handle pens,
Are apt to hurt themselves and friends.
Though others use them well, yet fools
Should never meddle with edge tools.

While in Lisbon and Madrid, besides attending to all public business with promptness and energy, and sending to the Secretary of State many long and lucid dispatches, our Minister wrote three poems of considerable length. The first was *A Poem on Industry, Addressed to the Citizens of the United States of America*. It was written in 1793, and, as already noted, was sent to General Washington for his approval. It appeared from the press of Mathew Carey in Philadelphia, in October, 1794, in a small duodecimo pamphlet of twenty-two pages. In a short preface he says:

The Writer of the following Lines has long been convinced that nothing is more essential to the Wealth and Prosperity of a *State*, than Industry; and consequently, that an attempt to impress that belief on the minds of his Countrymen cannot be illaudable. If then, his Poetry should be considered as intended to be subservient to patriotic purposes, he flatters himself its imperfections will, on that account, be treated with the less severity. How far his Subject, important as it may be in itself, is susceptible of poetic ornament in discussion, must be decided by others. At least, his unprejudiced Readers must be left to determine for themselves, how far he has been able to attain the object, which he honestly acknowledges to have had in view, of offering his Sentiments on an interesting Subject, in a manner somewhat new, and not altogether unworthy of their attention.

The Writer presumes it will not be denied, that INDUSTRY is peculiarly necessary, at this period, in the United States of America, for providing resources to create and sustain a naval

force. As an Apology for the Digression in the concluding part of the Poem, it will undoubtedly be noticed, that it was finished at the very moment, when an irruption of the Algerines into the Atlantic, had dictated to the Government of the United States the necessity of fitting out a Naval Force for the Protection of their Commerce. This EVENT will perhaps be considered, by Posterity, as constituting one of the most memorable Periods in our national History. How far the foreign policy which seems to have accelerated the EVENT, had calculated all the consequences, remains to be discovered.

'Twas Education form'd, ev'n from their birth,
For this, the tenants of that recent earth.
Still friendly Discipline instructs the race,
To claim 'mid nations their distinguish'd place.
See where our Seats of Science form our youths,
To social duties, or sublimer truths.
One shall all min'r'al qualities unfold,
The virgin silver, and the ductile gold:
Another fashion for the Fed'ral-hall,
The breathing marble, or the storied wall:
In Nature's works, another seeks delights,
Another teach of Man th' eternal Rights:
This shall obtain unspeakable applause,
Defend th' oppress'd, and plead his country's cause:
That build, on lofty verse, th' immortal name,
And deeds of our own days consign to fame!
Columbian Bards: who spurn the servile throng,
That dwells on fictions of insipid song;
In genius bold, to nature's guidance true,
Preserve her grandeur, and her chasteness too;
No more let Heathen Gods infest your rhyme,
But truth majestic fill the song sublime.

Not long shall human flesh be bought and sold,
The Charities of life exchang'd for gold!
For soon shall Commerce, better understood,

Teach happier barter for the mutual good.
Impregn'd by Winter and disclos'd by Spring,
Whate'er the seasons in succession bring;
What Sumner ripens and what Autumn yields,
Th' immeasurable fruits of fertile fields;
Our rapid ships to realms that want convey,
And new-born stars in wond'ring skies display.
Ev'n now innum'rous sails, like clouds, unfurl'd,
Bear our glad harvests round the wat'ry world:
Thy Sons, Columbia! pierce each dang'rous zone,
See foreign skies and seasons not their own.

SAGES in CONGRESS, *Sires of rising States*,
Who bear the charge of unborn Millions' fates!
'Tis INDUSTRY, whence man his habits takes,
'Twixt realm and realm the greatest diff'rence makes,
More diff'rence far than seasons, soil or clime,
Or all the casualties of chance and time;
Then give the bias, aid the mighty cause,
With all the force and majesty of Laws,
So shall for you long generations raise,
The sweetest incense of unpurchas'd praise.

And THOU, on whom thy Country fix'd her choice,
Arm of her strength and of her will the voice,
In public, as in private life, benign,
Still be the poor the care of Heav'n and thine!
To useful arts a nation's aim direct,
Create new fabrics and the old protect.

First let the Loom each lib'ral thought engage,
That source of blessings for our active age:
Rise then, YE PATRIOTS! ardent rise! encrease
In ev'ry vale, on ev'ry hill the fleece.
Ev'n now the fold, with thousands teeming, fills
With flocks the vales, with flocks the bleeting hills.

Fear not, ye timid dams, for man will tend
Your feeble young, while ye your fleeces lend:
Him nature formed with curious pride, while bare,
To fence with fin'ry from th' inclement air.
This fleece shall mock the sapphire of the Sky,
This drink the purple, that the scarlet dye;
The many-coloured bow to others giv'n
Shall teach to emulate the tints of heav'n.

AND ye who feel no feudal ties or tax,
Ye farmers! haste to sow the coated flax.
For fresh supplies each patriot fabric calls,
Where toils the wave that fed Passaic's falls;
Where Hartford's stream the happy task began,
And spread from house to house th' improved plan;
Or where Bostonian maids, with songs, prepare,
The canvass wings, to wanton wide in air
O'er seas unknown . . . your's be the meed, the wealth,
Bostonian Maids! of morals, beauty, health.^x

Eight years later this poem on Industry was thoroughly revised and practically rewritten. In its final form as found in the collected *Works* it has a dedication to the Prince of Brazil and an Address to the people of the United States in which the poet explains his purpose.

The main scope of the author's principal productions in verse has been to indicate to his fellow-citizens, in a connected manner, the measures best calculated for increasing and prolonging the public felicity. He deemed the success of our Revolution the broad basis on which this superstructure was to be built. The first thing to be done was to establish our independence; the second to prepare the national mind to profit by our unusual advantages for happiness; next to exhibit in prospective those numberless blessings which Heaven has lavished

^x From the original edition, pp. 8-15, published October 14, 1794, which differs in many places from the edition of Humphreys' collected *Works*, published in 1804.

around us, and which can scarcely be lost but by our own folly or fault. Having attempted to furnish his countrymen with some seasonable arguments and reflections on these subjects, in his "Address to the Armies," in his "Poem on the Happiness of America," and in the "Prospect of the Future Glory of the United States," he proposes now to show the prodigious influences of national industry in producing public and private riches and enjoyments.

One of the primary objects of a good government is to give energy and extent to industry by protecting the acquisitions and avail of their labour to the governed. This industry is the cause of the wealth of nations. It hastens their advancement in the arts of peace, and multiplies their resources for war. Under such a safeguard, mankind, engaged in any lawful and productive profession, will advance, at the same moment, their own interest and that of the commonwealth. Universal prosperity must ensue. With us, the successful issue has been the best panegyric of such a system. Could industry become generally fashionable and prevalent, indigence, and the calamities that flow from it, would be confined within narrow channels. With a few exceptions, such as are offered by the bee, the ant, and the beaver, social toil, which accomplishes works truly astonishing for their contrivance and magnitude, distinguishes the human race from every species of the animal creation. A reciprocation of wants and aids, as it were, rivets man to his fellows. What isolated person can perform for himself every act which his helpless and feeble state requires? By a combination of well-directed efforts, what miracles of improvement, what prodigies in refinement, may be effected! The expediency, and even the necessity of concerted and persevering operations, have a natural tendency to confirm and augment, through the medium of mutual services and benefits, fidelity, kindness, valour and virtue, among the members of civil society. Who, then, will envy the indolent and comfortless lot of the solitary savage, or the thinly scattered tribes of the desert?¹

¹ *Works*, edition of 1804, pp. 93, 94.

In the longer poem there is found the same ardour and the same exhortation to make the most of the opportunity Columbia affords for the useful arts and the improvement of her wilderness lands. He even then had the desire to import merino sheep to increase the yield of wool and improve the breed of sheep in America.

Oh, might my guidance from the downs of Spain,
 Lead a white flock across the western main;
 Fam'd like the bark that bore the Argonaut,
 Should be the vessel with my burden fraught!
 Clad in the raiment my Merinos yield,
 Like Cincinnatus fed from my own field;
 Far from Ambition, grandeur, care and strife,
 In sweet fruition of domestic life;
 There would I pass with friends, beneath my trees,
 What rests from public life, in letter'd ease.¹

In his poem on *Love of Country* he follows out his former line of thought, dwelling principally on the incentive to high and noble action which patriotism gives. These words are a key-note for the whole poem:

To Independence consecrate, this day
 Demands the tribute of my annual lay;
 Protector of that gift of God Supreme,
 Thou, *Love of Country!* be this day my theme.²

He discusses to condemn the newer philosophy then in vogue:

With feelings not less strong than others born,
 Affected sensibility I scorn.
 Nor finds my breast benevolence or joy,
 By generalizing feeling, to destroy.

¹ *Works*, edition of 1804, p. 127.

² *Ibid.*, p. 103.

I hate that new philosophy's strange plan,
 That teaches love for all things more than man;
 To love all mortals save our friends alone,
 To hold all countries dearer than our own;
 We take no int'rest in the present age,
 Rapt to th' unborn with philosophic rage;
 To make the tutor'd eyes with tears o'erflow,
 More for fictitious than for real woe!¹

The goodness and glory of the Creator as shown in the earth and man are then dwelt upon and the tyranny of man to man compared with it. The remembrance of the Revolution, the story told by sire to son, will keep alive that love of country which is the safeguard of the Republic. With great ingenuity and in stirring verse he rehearses the deeds of that contest and mentions the chief actors in the war. In this glowing verse he expresses his own patriotism and concludes a poem which has in it much energy and poetic fire:

While yet detain'd beneath Iberian skies,
 Still for my native land new longings rise;
 Me keen remembrance goads, by seas confin'd,
 While all my country rushes on my mind.
 Fir'd at the name, I feel the patriot heat
 Throb in my bosom, in my pulses beat,
 And on my visage glow. Though what I feel
 No words can tell—unutterable zeal!—
 Yet thou, Omniscient! whose all-searching eyes
 Behold the hidden thoughts that in us rise,
 Accept the silent pray'r—"Increase, secure,
 My country's bliss, while nature's self endure;
 'Till pass'd the race of man, like fleeting wind,
 Whose viewless current leaves no trace behind,
 Th' irrevocable voice from Heav'n absorb
 In smould'ring flames, the annihilated orb."²

¹ *Works*, edition of 1804, pp. 129, 130.

² *Ibid.*, p. 148.

The poem was delivered by the author to a company of friends and Spanish dignitaries in Colonel Humphreys' home in Madrid, on the 4th of July, 1799.

The death of his illustrious friend, General Washington, not only gave to our author a keen pang of grief and a deep sense of personal loss but also provided him with the theme for a poem in which the memory of that great man might be always embalmed.

His letters to Mrs. Washington show that he felt deeply, and that it was hard for him to console others, when he himself needed consolation.

Following his admirable custom of celebrating the Fourth of July, he called his friends together at the "House of the American Legation" on that day, and read to them his Eulogy and Threnody upon the Father of his Country.

The tone of the poem is that of subdued grief. The opening lines are forcible:

Oh, Independence of our western world,
Beneath whose banner broad in war unfurl'd,
With Washington I toil'd; beneath whose shade
With him beheld thy fruits in peace display'd!
Say why such deep'ning glooms this day o'erspread,
Thy annual feast, as for some dearest dead?

Say, lov'd Columbians: what these glooms bespeak?
Why paleness gathers on each alter'd cheek?
Why round the shore and o'er each inland heath,
Toils from each village tow'r the bell of death?
Why stops the dance? Why cease the sounds of mirth?
What unknown sorrow saddens half the earth?
What means yon sable train in shadowy ranks,
That dimly moves along Potowmac's banks?
Why on my view ascends yon phantom bier?
I fear'd—ah, woe to me! too true that fear!—

Fall'n is the mighty—Washington is dead—
Our day to darkness turn'd—our glory fled—
Yes, that lov'd form lies lifeless, dark in dust—
Of patriots purest as of heroes first!¹

The poet pictures the universal grief and alludes to the universal honours shown to the memory of Washington. He recalls the events of his life and gives at length the description of decisive actions of the Revolution, particularly Monmouth and the siege of Yorktown; the poet follows him to his retirement on the banks of the Potomac, and he recites the events that made him as great in peace as in war, and mentions the manner in which he skilfully piloted the ship of state when it was in great peril. Our author has felicitiously condensed Washington's Farewell Address:

When late he bade to public life adieu,
Supernal visions opening on his view;
Ye heard the last advice your guardian gave,
Ye heard his words when bord'ring on the grave:—
What truths experience taught you from his tongue,
When in your ears such awful warnings rung?
“To follow virtue never, never cease,
Her path is pleasant, and its end is peace;
Oh, cultivate *blest union*, but on *this*
Relies your freedom, independence, bliss.
Who sees a foreign policy prevail,
Must see thy promised bliss, Columbia! fail;
Must see thy goodly heritage, that day,
The prize of factions or of war the prey.”
What MORTAL truths more sacred spake of old,
Inspir'd by heaven!—The words are grav'd in gold.*

¹ *Works*, edition of 1804, pp. 163, 164.

* *Ibid.*, p. 183.

His closing apostrophe is just:

Ancient of days! unutterable name!
 At whose command all worlds from nothing came;
 Beneath whose frown the nations cease to be—
 Preserve, as thou hast made; our nation free!
 To guard from harms send forth thy hallow'd band!
 Be thou a wall of fire around our land,
 Above the frail assaults of flesh and sense!
 And in the midst our glory and defence!

Open, ye gates, instinct with vital force,
 That earth with heaven may hold high intercourse!
 Open, ye portals of eternal day!
 Through worlds of light prepare the glorious way!
 Come, sons of bliss, in bright'ning clouds reveal'd,
 Myriads of angels throng the aërial field!
 Come, sainted hosts! and from thy happier home,
 Thou, Washington! our better angel! come.
 And, lo: what vision bursts upon my sight,
 Rob'd in th' unclouded majesty of light?
 'Tis he—and hark! I hear, or seem to hear,
 A more than mortal voice invade my ear;
 "To me," the vision cries, "to speak is giv'n,
 Mortals! attend the warning voice of heav'n:
 Your likeness love! adore the pow'r divine!
 So shall your days be blest, your end like mine!
 So will Omnipotence your freedom guard;
 And bliss unbounded be your great reward!"¹

These are the final strains of David Humphreys as a poet. Our survey should enable us to applaud his honourable effort to do good to his country by putting into verse thoughts which would be for her advantage. We find him remarkably free from many affectations of his age, we find the subjects he chose for his poems to be such as could

¹ *Works*, edition of 1804, pp. 186, 187.

be comprehended by the audience for which they were written, and we also find that they struck a responsive chord in the hearts of those who read them. Without having the grandeur of conception of the great poets of the world, there is in our author a union of practical purpose and ability to express himself in the true language of poetry. A place that is honourable should be his, although now we do not read old-fashioned poetry. We want the light and airy conceits, the play of fancy, the melody and smoothness, that came into English poetry at the time our author ceased to write, when Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Southey began to show how nature was superior to the mere poetic art, and that true inspiration came from communion with her.

As a prose writer, our author's reputation rests mainly upon his sketch of General Israel Putnam. This was written largely from material furnished by the sturdy veteran himself. The style is animated, the purpose for which it had been prepared is kept in view, which was to present a beloved companion and comrade to his friends, to recount his brave deeds, and thus to recall to his readers the stirring scenes in which together they had been engaged. For the earlier portion the writer had to rely upon others, and while some of the exploits that he relates have been doubted, and while even a whole volume has been devoted to impugning the credit of our author, critical research fails to find his statements effectually controverted.¹

In the portions of the career of General Putnam which came under the personal observation of Colonel Humphreys, there is an agreeable vivacity and brilliancy of statement.

Had his pen been employed upon the career of Washing-

¹ *The Vail Removed*, by John Fellows, New York, James D. Lockwood, 8 John St., 1843.

ton, as had been suggested, we should have possessed a notable example of American biography written from a much more intimate knowledge of the movements and motives of the Commander-in-Chief than Judge Marshall could possibly have possessed, worthy of all commendation as is his life of Washington.

The first edition of the Life of Putnam was published in Hartford, in the fall of 1788. This was followed by editions published at Middletown in 1794, and at Philadelphia in 1798.

The book became popular and from it were drawn many anecdotes of the old French war and of the Revolution.

In 1815 an edition was published in New York in which the arrangement of the text was altered, the explanatory letter to Colonel Wadsworth omitted, and a new title-page used.

In 1818 Colonel Samuel Swett of Boston took the Life as the basis for an account which he had prepared of the battle of Bunker Hill, adding to it anecdotes and incidents of the battle.

In 1835 an illustrated edition was issued in New York City. This interpolates with the text many passages from Colonel Swett, also an account of the later years of General Putnam and the eulogy of Dr. Waldo. There are many reprints of the Life in this form, one with illustrations appearing as late as 1856.

In 1810 an edition was issued in New York, with which were bound up the *Address to the Armies* and the poem on the *Happiness of America*. This was published, the title-page states, "by permission."

The valedictory oration before the Connecticut Society of the Cincinnati, pronounced in the North Church in Hartford on July 4, 1804, was printed in a pamphlet of sixty pages, in Boston. The theme of the oration has already been considered.

In 1790 Colonel Humphreys collected his Poems, his first Cincinnati Oration, and the Life of General Putnam, together with a translation of a tragedy of the French dramatist, M. Le Mierre, the *Widow of Malabar*. The volume was dedicated to the Duc de Rochefoucault, because of "his knowledge of the language in which these miscellanies are written," "his protection of the fine arts," and "civilities to the author."

In the preceding year several of the poems and lyrics had been printed in a small volume in Philadelphia. In 1804 a fuller collection of the poems and prose works, including five letters from General Washington to the Colonel, was issued in New York. This included everything that the author desired to be preserved and remains the standard edition. It omitted the *Widow of Malabar*, retaining only the prologue. In 1815 he published an original drama, *The Yankee in England*, where the conventional stage Yankee makes first appearance. There is appended to it the first known glossary of "Yankee words and phrases."

An address delivered by him before the Agricultural Society of Connecticut in September, 1816, was afterward published in an octavo pamphlet of forty-two pages. It contained his latest poem, *The Farmer's Hymn*.

In the autumn of 1817 Colonel Humphreys wrote several letters to Sir Joseph Banks, President of the Royal Society, "containing some account of the Serpent of the Ocean, frequently seen in Gloucester Bay."

These works all show the varied talent of the author, are written in smooth and forcible English, and each is well adapted to the purpose for which it was designed.

A series of biographies of distinguished sons of Connecticut had been outlined by him, and he had asked the assistance of his literary friends, when his sudden death put an end to the project. As his private papers have dis-

appeared it is not known how much progress he had made.

When Colonel Humphreys returned in 1802 to his native land, his literary activity ceased. His absorption in industrial pursuits did not afford him leisure to write patriotic poems, prepare stirring orations, or translate French dramas.

With the exception of his Cincinnati oration in 1804, several agricultural addresses, and one short poem, as mentioned above, his contribution to American literature was made during the eighteenth century.

CHAPTER XV

Merino Sheep

Humphreys' Letter to Dr. Dwight Asking him to Select a Farm for him—Necessity Perceived for Improvement of Breed of Sheep in New England—Humphreys' Importation of Merino Sheep—Their Arrival in New York and Subsequently in Derby—Interest Excited—Rapid Rise in Prices for Them—Humphreys' Letter to Dr. Aaron Dexter—His Description of the Merinos and their Characteristics—Importation of Sheep in 1798 by William Parker—Importation by De Nemours and Delassert in 1801—By Seth Adams in 1801—Award of the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture of Gold Medal to Humphreys, and of Premium to Adams—Description of Gold Medal—Letter from the Corresponding Secretary to Humphreys—His Reply—Importation by Chancellor Livingston of Rambouillet Sheep—Advantage to the Country Accruing from the Humphreys' Importation.

BEFORE Colonel Humphreys left Madrid, and soon after he had been superseded by Mr. Pinckney at the Court of the Escurial, he had written to his old friend Dr. Dwight asking him to be on the lookout for a suitable farm for him. It was his evident intention at that time, though not so expressed in this letter, to start the merino industry immediately on his return to his native land. Being himself a New Englander, he naturally preferred settling in that section of the country.

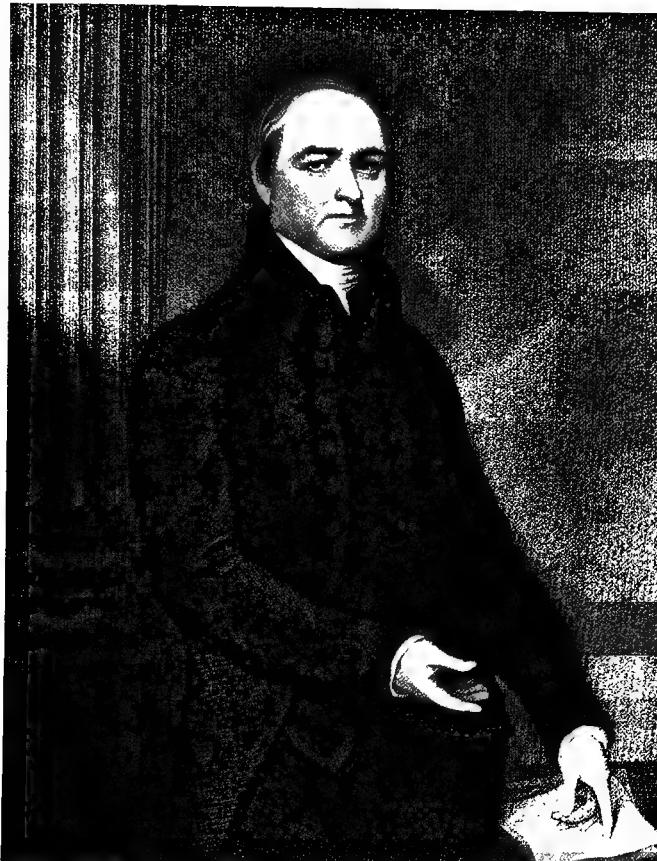
MADRID, Novr 6, 1801.

MY DEAR SIR,

Dr. John Watkins of the State of Kentucky has informed me from Malaga that he expects to take his passage for Boston &

to pass thro' New Haven on his way home. As he is a gentleman who appears to possess amiable dispositions with a good share of information I would not omit giving him a letter of introduction to you. If it should be convenient for you to show him any attention or civilities I shall be particularly grateful to you for them. This gentleman having passed several months in this Capital & having been with the other Americans here pretty intimately connected in my family; I may refer you to him for an account of our health & manner of spending our time; and I flatter myself he will give you such a report of the general character & domestic accomplishments of Mrs. Humphreys as to induce you to conclude she is not incapable of enjoying the innocent simplicity & rational pleasure of the real American Society. She requests that her best respects may be presented with mine to Mrs. Dwight & yourself. I had the pleasure of writing to you on the 4th of July last & of mentioning that I hoped in the course of some months to see you. I have received two letters from Mr. Charles Pinckney, and I imagine he will be here before the end of this month, as he was to be at Bourdeaux on the 30th of the last. I shall not, however, entertain any idea of embarking for the U. S. so as to arrive on the coast during the most stormy & uncomfortable season in the whole year. But I form the project of leaving Europe as soon after the rigour of winter shall be passed as I can make it convenient. And I shall be much obliged by your making some inquiries for convenient temporary accomodations for my family which is small as I have it in contemplation to spend a considerable part of the next summer in travelling before I shall finally establish myself in a permanent manner. I wish to look around the country previous to fixing myself to a particular spot. I expect to bring *wherewithal* to purchase a good farm & shall be glad to find such an one in our own State. If not I may seek for it elsewhere.

By a good farm, I mean one that is pleasantly situated & really capable of producing sufficient to support a family. It being well watered & susceptible of improvements, would be a great recommendation. It ought, indeed, to be in good culti-



Timothy Dwight

vation. But I have seen too much money expended on *fermes ornées*, fine gardens and idle water works, to entertain any idea of imitating what we cannot equal. I seek for independence & comfort with natural beauty of position & a tolerable share of convenience and elegance, if attainable. I mentioned in the letter which I wrote on the 4th of July last that I thought it fortunate you had suspended the publication of my Miscellanies until my arrival, & that I was determined to have them printed as soon afterwards as might be practicable. My intention continues the same . . . even supposing the want of taste & the rage of party should not render the period peculiarly favorable for the purpose; any antecedent measures which might facilitate & expedite the execution of the design would therefore be highly acceptable.

I entreat you to offer my best regards to all our friends who may sometime recall me to their recollection & to be persuaded of the great and sincere esteem and affection with which,

I am ever,

Your sincere friend & obliged Servant

D. HUMPHREYS.

The Revd TIMOTHY DWIGHT, D.D.,
&c., &c., &c.

Note. Col. David Humphreys was an officer of the Revolution, Minister to Portugal, a poet of some merit, & author of the Widow of Malabar, a tragedy given me by Professor Williams in 1833.

R. GILMOUR.¹

It had been among the plans of the most sagacious founders of the new nation to develop the internal resources of the country, to teach the people to depend upon their own land for much of their food, clothing, and other necessities of life. The New England farmer, who with his wife and children were models of industry, whose acres, comparatively well tilled, produced all that he required to satisfy his modest desires, showed how the country

¹ Pennsylvania Historical Society, Philadelphia, Pa.

might be made productive, if his thrift and energy were followed. But even this independent son of the soil had not learned the best methods of agriculture, and had gone on from one generation to another doing as his fore-fathers had done. That there was opportunity and need for any labour-saving devices, that the hand-loom in the great kitchen, where the mistress wove home-spun woolen yarn into a coarse cloth, could be replaced by looms which, run by water power and of larger capacity, could make a better grade of cloth, was an idea which penetrated slowly into the minds of these New Englanders. Skilled operatives to teach our bright young men and women how to manage such looms would have to be brought from England, France, or the Flemish towns. The first step towards making better cloth was the improvement of the breed of sheep. There had been no particular care taken to separate in the flocks of New England farmers those sheep which produced the finest wool and the heaviest fleeces. While in Spain Col. Humphreys had observed that the merino sheep were eagerly sought by all wool-growers and that the wool from them was used with inferior sorts to make the best French, English, and Holland cloth. Desirous to benefit his countrymen he sent expert agents to gather for him in the best "cabanas" of Spain, a flock of "twenty-five rams and seventy-five ewes, from one to two years old."

By the special permission of the Spanish government and with a small escort of Portuguese soldiers the flock was driven across Spain and Portugal, by the permission of the Portuguese government, to Lisbon, where on April 10, 1802, the sheep were placed on board the ship *Perseverance* of two hundred and fifty tons burthen and of which Caleb Coggeshall was master. The ship reached New York safely after a passage of nearly fifty days. The sheep excited much interest even in New York as they were trans-

ferred to a sloop bound for Derby. Four rams and five ewes had died during the voyage principally in consequence of bruises received by the violent rolling of the vessel on the banks of Newfoundland. When landed upon the wharf of Derby they created a greater excitement than any cargo which had ever been received there. Farmers from far and near came to see them, and to listen to Col. Humphreys as he explained his reasons for the importation, and showed how at a comparatively slight cost the material prosperity of the farmers and the whole country could be increased.

After their landing the sheep were driven from Derby Narrows into an enclosure at "Squabble Hole," where they were kept some weeks "to recover from the effects of their long voyage across the Atlantic."

As soon as the merits of the flock began to be known, and the more progressive farmers had determined that they would try the experiments suggested by the Colonel, rams and ewes from the flock were sold at one hundred dollars each, which was less than the cost. Special directions were given with each sale and special requirements as to feeding and breeding were insisted on. As the good qualities of the sheep became better known the price advanced gradually to three hundred dollars. When the price reached four hundred, Colonel Humphreys refused to sell, as he considered speculation in the merinos a detriment to his design. Prices, however, rose higher and higher until a Humphreys merino ram was worth from fifteen hundred to two thousand dollars and a ewe from fifteen to sixteen hundred dollars.

In a letter to Dr. Aaron Dexter of the Massachusetts Society for the Promoting of Agriculture written from Boston on August 25, 1802, Col. Humphreys gives the reasons for his importation, and discusses the future of manufactures in New England, and some of the characteristics of the merino sheep. These passages show that

he was entirely unselfish in the introduction and that his ardent wish was the benefit of his countrymen.

The importance of meliorating the breed of sheep in our country, particularly in the article of wool, had been early and deeply impressed on my mind. In addition to the gradual process of improvement, by bestowing more care and attention on our native flocks, in feeding them well, and crossing the blood, obviously suggested by reason and experience, two modes occurred for hastening and insuring the attainment of that interesting object. The first, to introduce and propagate an entirely new race, if a more perfect one could be obtained; the second, to meliorate our stock, by producing a mixed progeny from our ordinary ewes, by rams of a better breed. Both might be tried at the same time; and various experiments in different countries encouraged me to hope that both would succeed. But before there could be sufficiently good reason for justifying the trouble and expense of transporting an adequate number across the western ocean, it was the part of wisdom to ascertain, first, whether the breed be superior, in intrinsic value, to those which were already existing at the place of destination? and, in that case, secondly, whether the race contemplated to be introduced is likely, when propagated there, to retain all those qualities which constituted the original superiority of value? And here I found my opinion in the affirmative of both questions, as applied to a particular kind of Spanish sheep, on the facts stated in some instances by respectable individuals, and in others by official reports.

In Spain two distinct species of sheep have existed for ages, the one named *MERINOS* famous for their short and fine wool, particularly fit for carding; the other denominated *CHURROS*, distinguished for their long coarse wool, more suitable for combing. The former are so precious as to be sought with eagerness by all who wish to meliorate the staple for woollen manufactory in any country of Europe; while the latter, though much larger in size, are in so little estimation as never to be procured for exportation. My statements and remarks will be confined to the *MERINOS*.

The height of the male is about the same as that of the ordinary breed in this country; the head appears rather bigger and straighter; the ears are very small; the eyes remarkably bright; the horns curved in a spiral turn; the neck short; the chest broad; the members more compact and thick than those of our former breed of sheep; and the carcass is thought to have smaller bones, and to be more rounded in the hinder part; the body, face, and legs, are covered with a delicate fleece, which grows amazingly thick, without any mixture of coarser locks or hairs; the fleece is remarked to be much more impregnated than that of any other breed, with an oily substance, apparently exuded in perspiration. This animal is perfectly gentle, but quick, firm, and regular in all his movements. The female is considered, generally, as having the more characteristics of the pure blood, in proportion as she approximates to this description—yet the ewes are commonly destitute of horns, as is the case with those of my little flock. That flock, consisting of twenty-one rams and seventy ewes, has seldom, if ever, been surpassed by any extracted from the southern peninsula of Europe, for fine, soft, silky, strong, supple and elastic qualities of the wool. I send herewith a specimen in its natural state, for the sheep were sheared upon their arrival in this country, without having been washed.¹

In the eastern and middle states, all the circumstances encourage the practical farmers to increase and improve their breed of sheep. All kinds of soil except marshy, and of air except humid, are friendly to it. This breed, like most or all others, thrives best in uplands and short pastures; but it is reputed to be singularly hardy, as to endure rain, snow, and cold, as well as any northern race; and to support itself in parched southern climates, by feeding on weeds and vegetables which most others would not taste. Without entering into the detail of enriching the land on which they graze or are folded, by their manure, especially where a rotation of crops is systematically pursued, I should not omit to mention it has been asserted that a moderate sized farm, for example, an hundred acres, skilfully manured, may be made to maintain

¹*Works*, edition of 1804, pp. 345, 346.

one hundred sheep, and moreover to produce as much in crops as it would have done had it been employed only in cultivation, and not charged with their nourishment. For accomplishing this, it would undoubtedly be indispensable to have a competent share of knowledge of animal and vegetable nature. From all the inquiries which I have been able to make since my return to America, I have been extremely mortified to find that the breeding of sheep has been much neglected for some time past. It is but too evident a vital impulse is wanted to give new vigour to it; and I cannot but regret that it is not permitted, in the compass of a letter, to dwell more at large on the means, as well as to offer, in a more alluring manner, the motives for restoring that valuable race of animals, which seems to have been bestowed by heaven more peculiarly for the use and comfort of man, than any other, from its present state of decadence. If the limits would allow it to be done, it is believed the discussion would produce proof, approaching to demonstration, that no other branch of farming could be carried on in the eastern and middle States with so much advantage to the public, or profit to the individuals concerned, as the raising of sheep. The soil and climate being favourable, the quantity of nutriment and number of stock might be rapidly increased with a little exertion, even to such a degree as to furnish, in a few years, a great proportion of the wool necessary for our cloathing. The process is easy and sure, and does not require an uncommon share of skill or intelligence. Some general instruction, together with patience and perseverance, are alone requisite. The sheep of which I treat, in common with those long since familiarized to our seasons, are rarely liable to disease or accidents when proper care is taken of them.

Under the influence of such impressions, I thought I could not perform a more essential service to my country, than to endeavour to impress on the minds of my compatriots a conviction, that New-England and the neighbouring States are singularly well calculated for raising and maintaining as valuable a race of sheep as any in the world, without incurring any risk of their growing worse. More southern climates though equally inhabited and cultivated, might not be

equally suitable for this object, on account of the immoderate heat.¹

The importance of an internal supply of the first articles of necessity appears to be more understood and acknowledged every day, by every civilized nation in the world. It may be asked, How long are we to continue thus like colonies dependent on a mother country? And will a period never arrive when it will be indispensable to clothe ourselves principally, with our own productions and fabrics?

It is true, in the New-England and neighbouring States much has been done in families, towards providing and preparing their own clothing. No real patriot can behold, without feeling unusual emotions of pleasure, the employment of the wool cards, the spinning wheels, and the domestic looms, in those nurseries of manufactures. From the manner in which this portion of the country is filled with inhabitants, and the habits of occupation which they acquire from their infancy, I shall not perhaps be too bold in predicting that they will surpass all calculations hitherto formed. We have the materials and dispositions. Destitute of the great sources of riches, which, as it were, inundate our brethren in the south, on industry and economy, in farming, fishing, navigating and manufacturing, must we, in this part of the union, depend, under Providence, for our prosperity. Whoever, then, can add occasions and motives for the practice of industry and economy cannot fail to be a benefactor. And need any of our farmers despair of being equal to produce two fleeces of wool where one only was produced? The unequal division of landed property in the Southern States, and the greater profits to be derived from the rich crops of wheat, rice, tobacco and cotton, will naturally tend, for some time at least, to retard the manufacturing business: yet I am happy to learn that, in the interior districts of those States, many excellent articles of clothing are fabricated in the household way.

The period of a general peace promises more than any other to promote and accelerate the establishment of manufactures. That event, by producing a stagnation in our foreign navi-

¹*Works*, edition of 1804, p. 350.

gation, nearly closing the avenues to commercial speculations and diminishing the external demands for our provisions, will afford a favourable opportunity to invest a part of the surplus capitals in this manner. The *price* of labour, which has been too extravagantly high to be employed in almost any kind of manufactures to advantage, will ultimately conform to *that* of the necessaries and conveniences of life. When these shall become cheaper in this than in any other country, as will probably be the case, the articles which are manufactured among ourselves cannot be dearer.¹

By this importation Col. Humphreys showed himself a real benefactor of the American people. From it has grown the great woollen industry of this country. To trace the successive steps of the rapid increase in manufactures from wool, and show how the wool-growing centre has been transferred from New England to the West, is not necessary in this memoir.

The honour of bringing into the United States the first merino sheep is a question that has been much discussed. Colonel Humphreys thought that he could claim that distinction, for in writing to Dr. Dexter he says: "Convinced that this race of sheep of which, I believe, not one has been brought to the United States, until the importation by myself, might be introduced with great benefit to our country . . ."²

Those who have thoroughly investigated the claims made for various persons, state positively that the first importation from Spain was by the Hon. William Porter, of Boston, in 1798. It consisted of two ewes and one ram. They were brought from Spain in the ship *Bald Eagle*, Captain Atkins. Mr. Porter gave them to Mr. Andrew Cragie, of Cambridge. He was unaware of their value and killed and ate them for mutton. It was said that

¹*Works*, edition of 1804, p. 353.

²*Ibid.*, p. 349, letter to Dr. Dexter.

afterward he paid one thousand dollars for a merino ram of the Humphreys flock. In 1801 Mr. Dupont de Nemours, in company with a French banker, M. Delessert, imported from France, four ram lambs. They were from the Rambouillet flock. Only one survived the journey. After remaining at Kingston, New York, for several years, it was taken to Wilmington, Delaware, where it became "the sire of some excellent flocks of grade sheep."

Mr. Seth Adams, of Zanesville, Ohio, imported in 1801, in the brig *Reward*, Captain Hooper, a pair of merinos which reached Boston in October. The owner said they were from a flock which Napoleon had brought from Spain. For this importation Mr. Adams asked for the premium of fifty dollars which had been offered by the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture.

When the Society met on October 29, 1802, Colonel Humphreys' letter, which had previously been referred to a committee consisting of Mr. Lyman, Mr. Cabot, and Dr. Dexter, was considered, and it was resolved that the gold medal occasionally granted by the Society should be awarded to him "for his patriotic exertions in introducing into New England one hundred of the Spanish merino breed of sheep." At the same time Mr. Adams was allowed the premium which had been offered to the person who "introduced into the State a ram or ewe of a breed superior to any now in the State."

The medal awarded to Colonel Humphreys had on the obverse a man ploughing, with sheep feeding in a pasture, and a farmhouse and trees appear in the distance. At the upper edge and bottom was the name of the Society with its motto. Upon the reverse was this inscription:

Merino Sheep

PRESENTED
 by the
 MASSA. SOCIETY
 for
 PROMOTING AGRICULTURE
 to the
 Hon^{le} *David Humphreys Esq^r*
 late MINISTER to the COURT of
 MADRID
 as a TESTIMONY of RESPECT for his
 PATRIOTIC EXERTIONS
 in IMPORTING into NEW ENGLAND
 100 of the MARINO BREED of
 SHEEP from SPAIN to IMPROVE
 the BREED of that USEFUL
 ANIMAL in his OWN
 COUNTRY.
 1802.¹

In transmitting it Dr. Parker, the Corresponding Secretary, sent this note:

BOSTON, December 15, 1802.

HON. DAVID HUMPHREYS, Esq.

SIR,

The Trustees of the Massachusetts Society for promoting Agriculture, at their meeting, held October 29, 1802, voted that a Gold Medal be presented to you by said Society, for your patriotic exertions in introducing into New-England one hundred of the Spanish Merino breed of Sheep; and appointed me a Committee to procure and transmit the same to you.

¹*Works*, edition of 1804, p. 357. An engraving of both sides of the medal will be found opposite.



Medal Presented to David Humphreys

It is with pleasure I have executed this commission, and now transmit to you the Medal accompanying this; and, in the name of the Trustees, request your acceptance of the same, as a small testimony of the high sense they entertain of your merit in accomplishing this arduous enterprise.

I have the honour to be,

With sentiments of the highest esteem and respect,

Your most obedient and very humble servant,

(Signed) S. PARKER, *Corresponding Sec'ry.*

Colonel Humphreys made this suitable acknowledgment:

NEW HAVEN, April 23, 1803.

THE REV. S. PARKER, D.D.

SIR,

Upon my arrival in this city yesterday, I received the Medal in gold, which the Trustees of the Massachusetts Society for promoting Agriculture did me the honour to present to me from that Society, in consequence of my having introduced into New-England a small flock of the Merino breed of sheep, accompanied by your highly esteemed letter, dated at Boston, on the 15th of December last.

I request you will be pleased, Sir, to express to the respectable Society of which you are the Corresponding Secretary, the great sensibility with which I accept this distinguished token of their flattering approbation.

Should our mutual hope and expectation of meliorating the breed of sheep in America, by the introduction of this race, be fulfilled, I shall consider myself peculiarly fortunate for having been instrumental in producing an event, from which I shall derive more pleasure and consolation than from any other transaction of my life. In all cases, I shall find an inexhaustible source of satisfaction in a recollection of the motives for the importation on my part, and the appreciation of them on that of your Society.

Since my return from the seat of government I have not visited my Merinos which are about eight miles distant from

this place. I propose to see them soon; and should anything have occurred that may be interesting to your Society, I shall take the liberty of writing to you.

My friend, to whose care the Medal was addressed, did not think proper to forward it to me, while on my journey, for fear of accidents. My absence, somewhat longer than was calculated, must therefore be offered as an apology for my not having acknowledged the receipt of your letter at an earlier period. For your trouble in executing the commission, as well as for your politeness in making the communication, I beg leave, at this late hour, to tender my sincere thanks, together with the most respectful assurances of the great consideration and esteem with which I have honour to be,

Sir,

Your most devoted and most humble servant,

D. HUMPHREYS.¹

Chancellor Livingston, then on a diplomatic mission to France, had admired the merino sheep that were in that country and sent to his farm at Clermont on the Hudson two pairs from the government flock of Châlons. He afterward imported a ram from the Rambouillet flock, and subsequently when large importations were being made, became the purchaser of many choice sheep.²

From these observations it will be noted that if the honour of first importing the merino sheep into this country cannot be positively claimed for David Humphreys, yet to him is unquestionably due the gratitude of the United States for having been the first to import them in sufficient numbers and of sufficient excellency of breed to make them of commercial value to the country and thus adding a new industry to the infant nation.

¹ *Works*, edition of 1804, pp. 357, 358.

² *Merino Sheep, their Importation from Spain, Introduction into Vermont and Improvement since Introduced*. For full account of importation see pp. 20-50. Vermont Merino Sheep-breeders' Association, vol. i.

CHAPTER XVI

The Cincinnati in Connecticut

The Humphreys Take up Residence in Boston—Letter to Trumbull—State of the Society of the Cincinnati in Connecticut—Meeting of the Society—Incorporation Decided on—Memorial to the General Assembly Asking for Incorporation—Speech of Humphreys—His Defence of the Society and its History Traced—Incorporation Refused by the Assembly—The Society Dissolved in Consequence—Valedictory Discourse by Humphreys—Presentation of Epaulets of Washington to Massachusetts Historical Society.

COLONEL HUMPHREYS in the fall of 1802, after paying with Mrs. Humphreys visits to friends and relatives, took a house in Chestnut Street on Beacon Hill, Boston, which became his home for nearly four years, although he was necessarily absent from it at intervals to care for his flocks at Derby, and the prosecution of the plans he was maturing upon a large scale in his native town.

In this pleasant letter to his friend, Colonel John Trumbull, he gives the opinion of one whose taste had been formed by foreign travel upon the defects apparent in the United States.

NEW HAVEN, Octr. 25th, 1803.

DEAR SIR,

I have lately been favoured with the receipt of your letter of the 20th of July last, and have still to express my unfeigned sense of obligation of the reiterated proofs of your attention and friendship.

I observe the notice that you take of my observations on the taste, or rather the want of taste, in our Country in respect to the fine arts and intellectual gratifications.

I wish I could give a more favorable representation; but I fear in so doing tho' the painting might be slighted, the likeness would be lost. In effect, I perceive but little progress in improvement; and yet I cannot but live in hopes that better times will one day come.

In the meantime, where the self-love or vanity of our Countrymen shall be so intimately affected as in the business of Portrait-painting, I entertain a gleam of hope that you may succeed in your wishes. I understand that Stuart, if he had not been excessively idle and dissipated might have done very well for himself.

The intelligence of your intention to return to America early in Spring, would, I own, have afforded me the most sensible pleasure, if I had not meditated a voyage to Europe with Mrs. H. at the same period. You see how interested I am: We propose going to Portugal for some time, both on our own business and at the earnest solicitation of our friends. Now, I am determined to make the overture or challenge to you, to meet me at that Phillipi—on your way to America. I think it possible you might amuse and employ yourself agreeably and advantageously there, at least for a season—perhaps longer. I offer the suggestion with doubt of its being accepted, but you know there cannot be harm in it, if it is not. I think I heard that your great *Engraver Bartolozzi* was there last year. After we make, according to all human reason, the best calculations, as to success or failure in any considerable undertaking we are not infrequently disappointed, but for this experience, I shall certainly consider Portugal presented a more flattering prospect for an artist of eminence; and I might truly say, in my judgment, a more alluring one than the U. S.

Whatever may be your opinion, I wish at least to receive a letter from you there, which will be put in safe train of delivery in being addressed to care of "Messrs. John Bulkeley & Son," a commercial House, now carried on by my Brothers-in-Law, with another Partner.

You will doubtless be glad to hear that your friends (I mean your relations) are all well. This is the case. I dined today in company with your Brother, the Governor, from whom I have the information.

Your old friend, Col. Wadsworth, is still so well, as to take exercise on horse-back, but I find him declining, and I fear with rapid progression.

The country, greatly divided by parties, offers few resources for rational enjoyment, to those who wish for comfort and tranquillity.

Mrs. H. . . . has, however, passed her time pleasantly enough; and particularly the last summer, which we have spent at Boston, and where she is at present, and to which place I shall return in a few days.

Otherwise I should indubitably have had it in charge to say everything which could be said on her part, of the satisfaction which she would have desired to reciprocate in the society of yourself and Mrs. T. As it is, I dare promise everything for her, in case we should be so happy as to meet, as well as for,

Your sincere and affectionate friend,

D. HUMPHREYS.

Endorsed

JOHN TRUMBULL, ESQR.

No. 5 Gray's Inn Square, London.

The Colonel's departure for Europe was delayed as the putting into operation of his business plans took time and thought.

He did, however, give to the affairs of the Cincinnati much attention. The funds of the Society had grown to a sum which it seemed well to invest wisely.

As the organization was not incorporated and could not legally hold any funds, at the meeting on July 6, 1803, of the Society, Col. Humphreys, Col. Kirby, and Col. Mix were appointed a committee to petition the Legislature "to grant an act of incorporation so far only as will be

necessary to secure the funds of the Society for the purpose for which they were originally designed by the donors."¹

At the October session of the General Assembly of Connecticut the memorial which had been prepared by Col. Humphreys and Col. Mix was presented. It was dated October 10, 1803, and set forth the reasons for the incorporation, the poverty of many Revolutionary officers, and the need of incorporation to keep the fund under proper safeguards.

In Col. Humphreys' plea for the memorial before the Governor and Council, he gives summarily the origin of the order and shows that the popular distrust of it was entirely unfounded. In conclusion he said:

May it please your Excellency,

To induce this Honourable Board to grant the prayer of the memorial which has just been presented on the part of the Society of the Cincinnati, we flatter ourselves little more will be necessary than a simple statement of facts, in illustration of those which have already been stated in that memorial.

The Society of the Cincinnati was formed, at the close of our revolutionary war, in this manner. The officers in the cantonment of New-Windsor anticipated that the signature of that very peace which gave independence to their country, was the signal for them to part for ever. They had contracted friendships which they wished might not be dissolved. It was natural that men, who had passed so much of their best time together, mostly in the morning of life, when the mind is peculiarly susceptible of new and durable impressions, for the attainment of so important an object, and who had shared together the toils, hardships, sufferings, and dangers of so long a war, which were often not of an ordinary nature, should have felt strong attachment for each other. The moment of

¹ MS. Records Connecticut Society of the Cincinnati, in Archives of the Connecticut Historical Society.

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separation when, in all human probability, few of them would ever meet again, was approaching. They thought it would be a rational gratification to see one another sometimes, during the short continuance of their lives, even if it were but once a year.

Under these circumstances the Society was instituted. The General Orders for separation were issued. Perhaps few more solemn and impressive scenes have ever been exhibited. An army, victorious in the field, and triumphant in the best of causes, quietly disbanded and mingled in the mass with their fellow-citizens: It was a patriotic lesson for mankind. I well remember that day—nor can it be effaced from the memory of your Excellency. I have seen those veterans, (for, whatever their age, such they were after eight years service) without uttering one word, the tears secretly stealing from their eyes, grasping each others' hands at parting; and only consoled by the idea, I should rather say by the fond hope, that they might, perchance, meet on some future anniversary of independence. I must acknowledge my own feelings were never so affected on any other occasion. And your Excellency, who was present with me at the Headquarters of the army, and who was one of the last and most intimate of the friends who took leave of the Commander-in-Chief, can bear testimony to this interesting and affecting scene.

But, may it please your Excellency, there was another object which equally engaged our attention at that memorable period. A number of the officers, after having spent their best days in the public service, without having scarcely any compensation to that time, destitute of money, without friends, with few resources, unable to go with advantage into the employments and occupations for which they had been destined, had to bear up against many misfortunes and discouragements, especially when they were burdened with the maintenance of large families. So embarrassed were some of them, that they had barely wherewithal to face their most necessary expenses, and quit the cantonment without leaving debts behind them. To provide a fund for the relief of the most necessitous, it was agreed by all, that one month's pay should be reserved, when-

ever their accounts should be finally settled. At the origin of the Society all subscribed, and afterwards, upon the settlement of their claims upon the United States, contributed in proportion to their rank. A fund was thus created. If any of our old companions, now worn out with years and infirmities, have been enabled to pass the evening of life in a more comfortable manner than they would otherwise have done, and the names of such will be seen in the minutes of our proceedings; or if the widows and orphans of others have been essentially assisted, and we can there point to several of the former who have been greatly aided in educating the latter, even from our scanty supply—we applaud not ourselves, but we rejoice that Providence has crowned our design with success.

For the faithful application of that fund we appeal to our records. In them you will find no history of fictitious poverty and misery, but a relation of sums given to relieve real distress. There is no instance of the distribution of this charity, alluded to in our memorial, which, we presume, cannot be confirmed by the personal knowledge of some of the members of one or other house of Legislature.

The contingencies and casualties arising from deaths, failures by bankruptcies, and other disappointments, which may endanger the loss of the fund, are too obvious to be insisted upon. Without enlarging on the reasons which are set forth in the memorial, to show the insecure tenure of joint property, held in trust, unprotected by law, I will only say, "I feel a serious conviction, that a refusal to grant the prayer of the memorial must be attended with the destruction of the charitable part of our institution."

And the motion made, as it were, in despair, at the last annual meeting, in this very council chamber, for the dissolution of the Society and the division of the fund, will probably produce the same conviction in every mind.

May it please your Excellency, I have thus endeavoured to comprise the few things I had to say in as narrow limits as possible. This may be comprehended under four heads, as they are related, 1st, To the circumstances under which the Society was formed: 2nd, The objects for which it was insti-

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tuted: 3rd, The manner in which those objects have been accomplished: and 4thly, What I am convinced must be the result if the prayer of this memorial should not be granted.

It will doubtless be remembered by your Excellency and your Honours, that, soon after the formation of this Society, attempts were made, not without some degree of success, to render it unpopular, by pretending it originated in motives of ambition, and was designed to imitate the privileged orders of Europe. But I humbly conceive, what I have said respecting its origin and objects would be sufficient to confute any such attempts, if they needed confutation at this late period. More than twenty years have elapsed, and not one fact has occurred to countenance these jealous insinuations. No person, Sir, could be more opposed to this dreaded innovation, to this pretended project for introducing privileged orders, than myself. But, every person who has the slightest acquaintance with the subject, does know that there is not the remotest analogy between the societies. And would General Washington, and a host of patriots who might be mentioned, have sacrificed their principles, and sullied their glory, by giving their sanction to such a scheme? Let every candid inquirer judge for himself. Nay, let the whole impartial world decide, whether our actions have not accorded with our professions. Whatever prejudices might have partially existed, we believe they exist no more; for we know there is not the smallest pretext for them. We believe that the sentiments of the community at large, if they could be known, would be strongly in our favour, that is to say, in favour of a charter of incorporation for the purpose proposed. And we cannot but hope, that your Excellency and your Honours will manifest the same sentiments, by adopting the only possible measure for preventing this source of benevolence from being forever dried up.

May it please your Excellency, it remains to be decided whether our request is reasonable or unreasonable. What do we ask? We ask nothing but protection for a charity, devoted to the unfortunate, under peculiar circumstances and relations as to our feelings. Yes, may it please your Excellency, suffer me to repeat it with emphasis, *we ask NOTHING but*

PROTECTION for a CHARITY; and will THAT be refused? Will you REFUSE that PROTECTION in this case, which you have granted to societies for establishing banks, insurance companies, turn-pike roads, toll-bridges, as well as for several other purposes supposed to be useful to some portion of the commonwealth.

Are we a description of citizens less favoured than others? And have we forfeited the good opinion of our country by fighting for its independence? Divest our institution of the formidable name of Cincinnati (if there be magic in the name that can make it so), and what will there be but a friendly and charitable society, to which you could have no difficulty in granting what is now solicited:

As a society, we are neither numerous, or powerful, or, perhaps, more united in political sentiments than the rest of the inhabitants of the State. As individuals, we are much of us so far removed from indigence as never to expect any benefit for ourselves or our families from the fund during our lives. Sir, we can then have little interest in the object of our request, so far as it respects us personally; for, after a few more years shall have revolved, not one of us who served through the revolutionary war will be left alive. But, in the hour of death, it would afford a consolation to hope, that, if we have done some little good in our day, it might be made to survive us.

To this speech as printed in his *Works*, the Colonel adds this note:

Leave was given in the House of Representatives, by a large majority, to bring in a bill in form on the subject of the memorial. But it was negatived in the other House. And, consequently, the request of the Society was not granted.¹

The petition was denied by the opposition of the Council, although in the Assembly there was a majority in favour of granting it.

On July 4, 1804, the Society of the Cincinnati met in the North Church in Hartford. There was sadness

¹ *Works*, edition of 1804, pp. 376, 377.

mingled with their rejoicing since the refusal of the Legislature to grant an act of incorporation compelled them to dissolve the organization. Two orations were delivered, one by Mr. James Smith, and the other by Col. Humphreys.

That by the Colonel dealt largely with the circumstances under which they had met, charged his brother officers never to forget the days they had fought and suffered together, surveyed the political horizon, and considered the purchase of Louisiana, then fully consummated, which he entirely disapproved as it could not be settled for one hundred years, as it was not well adapted for agriculture, which was the main source of the country's strength. Its addition to the Union would entail expense rather than profit. The main portion of his address was upon the subject of slavery and the steps that should be taken for its abolition. He speaks upon it sensibly and strongly, he quotes the example of Washington, who had freed his slaves, and pictures the day when no longer fellow-mortals should be held in bondage.

The thanks of the Society were given him for it, and the oration was soon after published.¹

While at Boston in the autumn of 1804 Col. Humphreys took the opportunity to deposit with the Historical Society there a most valuable and interesting memento of the Revolution which he presented through the following letter:

BOSTON, Oct. 3, 1804.

DEAR SIR,

I put into your hands a pair of *Epaulets* which were in habitual use by General Washington at the successful siege of Yorktown, in Virginia, and which were worn by him on the day

¹ *A Valedictory Discourse, delivered before the Cincinnati of Connecticut, in Hartford, July 4, 1804, at the dissolution of the Society.* 8vo., pp. 60. Boston: Gilbert and Dean, 1804.

when he resigned his commission of Commander-in-Chief to Congress, after the close of the Revolutionary war.

These may, therefore, without employing a very bold figure of speech, be denominated the dumb and imperishable witnesses of his glory as a hero and a patriot. . . . These badges of military distinction formerly attached to so illustrious a personage, and always destined by the substance of which they are composed, to coexist with the long series of future generations, may perhaps be deemed worthy of being preserved among the frail insignia of human greatness, by the Historical Society of Massachusetts, in which case they are offered for acceptance by the person to whom the General gave them, and who has the honour to subscribe himself, respectfully dear Sir, Your most obedient Servant,

D. HUMPHREYS.

The Rev. Dr. JOHN ELLIOTT, DD.

Cor. Secretary of the Historical Society.¹

¹ *Dawson's Historical Magazine*, vol. i., p. 79.

CHAPTER XVII

Humphreysville

Purchase by Humphreys of the Steele Mill and Plant at Rimmon Falls—Additional Purchase of Land—Erection of the First Woollen Mill in the United States—Reputation of Humphreysville—Colonel and Mrs. Humphreys' Visit to Europe—Letter of Humphreys to President Jefferson on the Political State of Affairs in Europe—Asks for Settlement of his Public Accounts—which Accounts are Finally Audited and Settled in 1843—Adds Paper-Making to the Industries of Humphreysville—His Ideal Factory Village—Testimony to its Value and Uniqueness Borne by Recent Writers—The Connecticut Legislature Pass Special Factory Laws at Humphreys' Instance—He Founds the Model New England Factory Village—Purchases Land in Boston—Erects a House—Communicates to the Massachusetts Society the Results of Five Years' Breeding of his Merino Sheep—The Legislature of Connecticut Pays Humphreys Special Honour by Various Resolutions—which are Communicated to him by the Governor—Humphreys' Reply—Request of President Jefferson for Cloth to Make a Coat—Letter of Jefferson on American Industries—The Premium Society of Philadelphia.

IN that picturesque part of Derby known from its Indian proprietors as Chusetown, which was then still sparsely inhabited, with Rock Rimmon towering above the Naugatuck and the ridge of rock twenty feet high in the bed of the river making a fall of great power, there had been established as early as 1785 some small manufacturing establishments. John Wooster and Bradford Steele had built a shop for the manufacture of scythes and other iron work. Previous to 1800 fulling

mills, a clothier's shop, and a sawmill had been built near the Falls.

On December 13, 1803, Col. Humphreys, "now of Boston, in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts," purchased of Bradford Steele, Jr., and George Steele, for the sum of two thousand six hundred and forty-seven dollars

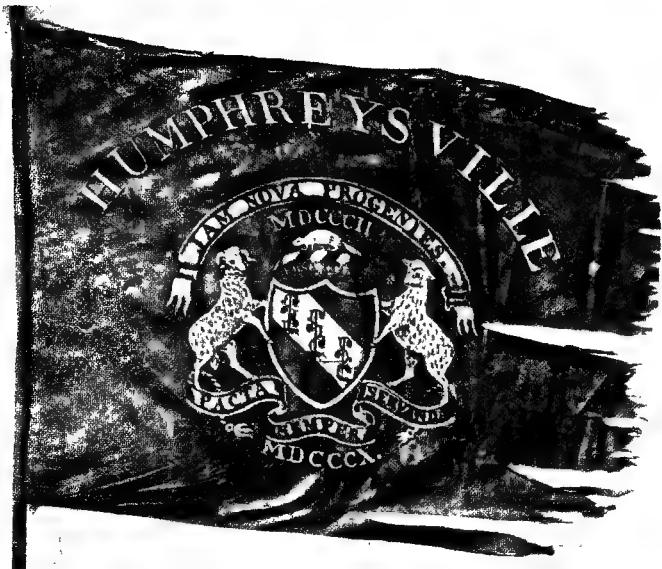
one certain piece of land lying in said Derby at a place called Rimmon Falls . . . it being the same tract of land formerly deeded by John Howd and Joseph Chuse, Indians, to John Wooster, Ebenezer Kinney and Joseph Hull, Jr. As may appear on Derby Records, for a particular description refer to said Records; together with all the privileges, together with the saw-mill, two fulling mills, clothier's shop and all the utensils, implements, and apparatus belonging to and used in and appendant and appurtenant in and to said mills and clothier's shop on said land, together with the whole mill-dam across said Rimmon Falls.¹

After this purchase the Colonel began to arrange for enlarging the mills and receiving cloth, still woven in many a farmer's kitchen, from a wider circuit to finish and prepare for the market. With his nephew, John Humphreys, as his efficient aide, the work at the mills increased, and more men were employed.

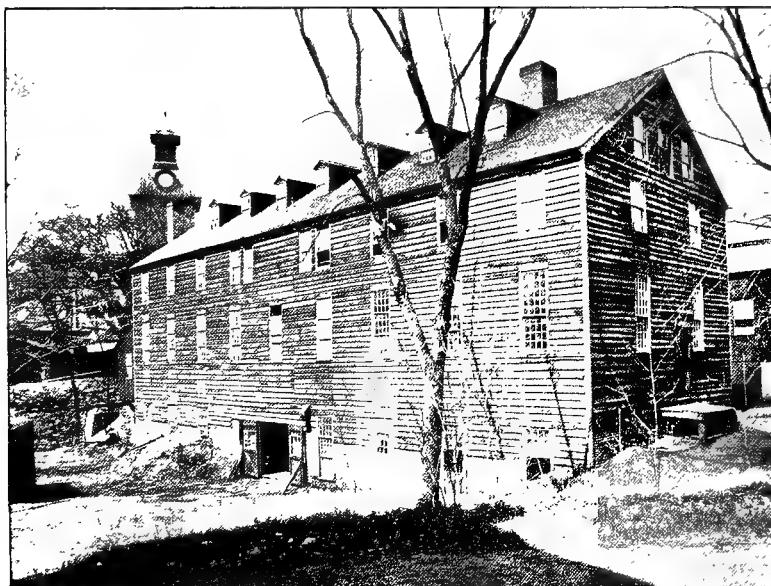
In 1806 Col. Humphreys determined to commence the manufacture of cloth. He had secured in Mr. John Winterbotham a man well adapted to be the manager of the factory, who had been a manufacturer of cloth near Manchester, England, who knew the business in every detail. On June 5 and 6, 1806, the frame of the first large and successful woollen factory in the United States was raised. It was pushed to a completion and stocked with the best machinery then known.²

¹ Derby Records, quoted in *The History of Seymour*, W. C. Sharp, Seymour, 1882.

² For a notice of previous woollen factories see Appendix.



The Flag of the Military Company Recruited from Employees of the
Humphreys Mill



The Old Humphreys Woollen Mill at Humphreysville

The projector soon had the happiness to see Humphreysville grow; houses were built for the operatives, orphan boys were brought from New York and trained to become skilled workmen. The experiment was in every respect a successful one, and within two years the cloth manufactured had a national reputation.

Late in 1806, Colonel and Mrs. Humphreys went to Europe, where they remained until the fall of 1807. While abroad the Colonel studied the factories of Europe, that he might improve his own. The various places in Europe which were visited by Colonel and Mrs. Humphreys cannot be positively known as there are no letters or journals of this period. It is probable that the intention expressed in the letter to Col. Trumbull three years before, of spending some time in Lisbon, was carried out.

They would find many friends in London, Paris, and Madrid, as they journeyed to the splendid capital of Portugal.

Colonel Humphreys found Europe greatly changed since he left Madrid four years before. They had been years in which France had been dominating the Continent; the Grand Army of Napoleon had been showing the splendour of the art of war, and the genius of the "Little Corporal" was bending all nations, except England, to his will.

To a trained diplomatist like our Colonel the situation of Europe must have presented an interesting problem, and had we his letters we might expect some profound and brilliant comments upon the intrigues of European ministries and the trend of political opinions.

This letter to the President, Mr. Jefferson, is a good specimen of his directness and clearness of information concerning political matters and shows that he had observed closely while in England.

NEW YORK, Sept. 25th, 1807.

DEAR SIR,

I have just arrived here in a passage of 34 days, sailing August 20, from England. I take the liberty of communicating some of the most remarkable circumstances of a political nature which occurred at the time of my departure.

After the general embargo was raised, the objects which excited the public attention most, were the expected arrival of Instructions from the U. S. respecting the late aggression on our flag; and of intelligence of the result of the great naval expedition which was believed to be destined against the Danish fleet. The success or failure of the latter it was supposed would have some influence in the negotiation with regard to the former.

Previous to that aggression several Publications had appeared in London calculated to prepare the public mind for a rupture with America. One of these is entitled, "A true picture of the U. S. of America, being a brief statement of the conduct of the Government & People of that Country towards Great Britain from the Peace concluded in 1783 to the present time;" and another "Concessions to America the Bane of Britain." I need not enumerate all the Classes of People to whom a *war* would be agreeable. Strange as it may appear I am inclined to believe, it would be more popular than that of 1775. It will not be difficult for you to conceive that all the Officers of the Navy with their numerous agents & connections in conjunction with many of the Nobles and various descriptions of other Subjects, particularly the ancient enemies of our Independence *should* contemplate the prospect of hostilities with satisfaction; but you may perhaps be surprised to learn that such independent Characters as your old friend John Stockdale, and many others among the staunch friends of America in '76, look forward to a war with us as an almost inevitable event not very much to be deprecated, at least much less so than the loss of the smallest of their naval rights. As a proof of their decision they seriously believe these rights are assailed by us, and that the unreasonable pretensions & claims

of America, encrease with the enemies & embarrassments of Britain.

On the other hand they attribute our unparalleled prosperity wholly to British *indulgence*, which they think has been greatly abused, and cannot with safety to their navy be continued. Consequently they anticipate an unsuccessful issue of the negotiation, upon the supposition, that Britain will not accede to the exaggerated claims of America, without pretending to know what those claims may be; hitherto for want of Documents, only the abstract question of searching armed vessels could have come into discussion.

In deciding this to our own satisfaction, it is imagined there will be little hesitation . . . but not so, if it be insisted on, that the flag, shall protect persons on board of our Merchant vessels.

To maintain the naval supremacy or perish as a Nation, is the prevalent doctrine of the day. The most candid Politicians admit that the manufacturing & commercial interests must suffer great detriment from a war; but they entertain a hope that their manufactures will find their way into Countries which have [not] been accustomed to receive them. They judge, that we shall not be able by any means to dispense with the use of them, and they have a full conviction that a war will do us infinitely more harm than it will them, that it will be of short duration, and taking all circumstances into consideration, that it is preferable to an insidious neutrality—as they call the present system.—It appears to me, that, in the midst of such declamations, added to the representations of the West India merchants, the interests of the manufacturing Towns & the merchants trading to the U. S. are overtaken or forgotten, for the Moment.—How long a period will elapse before their voice can be heard, it is difficult to determine. The Ministry seemed solicitous to collect the sense of the Country which is certainly no easy task. In the meantime Mr. Monroe & Mr. Pinckney entertained better hopes of success, at the eve of my departure than they had done sometime before.—I have ventured to trouble you with this statement of facts & opinions, from an apprehension that we shall, however,

be forced to take a part in the war, if it should continue much longer in Europe; or that Canada will be ceded to France, in case of a Peace.

I perceive little chance of enjoying permanent safety, but by our becoming in a great degree an armed & united People, in effect, as well as in name.

I beg leave to refer you to a letter which I had the pleasure of addressing to you from Bath on the 28th of Jan^ry last, for the knowledge of my dispositions respecting the public military Service.

With Sentiments of high consideration & esteem I have the honour to be, Dear Sir,

Your Most ob & Most h^{ble} Servt.

D. HUMPHREYS.

The President of the U. S. of America, &c., &c.

I shall be obliged to remain for some time at my manufactures near New Haven, where any letter will reach me.¹

In the following letter is given an instance of the delays experienced in the final settlement of public accounts:

NEW YORK, Septr. 26th, 1807.

DEAR SIR:

I have the honour to inclose to you a letter from our friend, Genl. Lafayette, which he put into my hand at Paris. Dispatches from Mr. Monroe will also be forwarded by this conveyance with which I was charged in London. The last advices which we have brought from thence were to the 16th Ult.—When the arrival of the American Sloop of War, Revenge, was anxiously expected, as was the intelligence of the result of the great naval expedition whose destination was believed to be against the Danish fleet.

Mr. Gallatin has been so obliging as to tell me this day that he will cause particular and immediate attention to be paid to the settlement of my public accounts; of which the Statements,

¹ U. S. Archives, State Dept., Washington, D. C.

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Documents, Vouchers and Explanations are in the Office of the Department of State.

To that Department I was especially intrusted to transmit them by Mr. Jefferson, when Secretary of State as will be ascertained by his original Instruction, on my first being nominated Minister to the Court of Lisbon. Having myself complied with this Instruction in the most pointed manner may I ask the favour that you will direct the needful facilities to be given for the accomplishment of the object in view?¹

With Sentiments of great respect and esteem,

I have the Honour to be, dear Sir,

Your mo. ob. & mo. hble. Servt.,

D. HUMPHREYS.

The Honble. JAMES MADISON.²

After this visit Col. Humphreys confined himself closely to his varied interests at Humphreysville, which for a short time included paper-making. He was rapidly building up an industrial community; he was rescuing from poverty and possible crime many boys of New York City, training them to work, educating and clothing them.

When not at his factory he joined Mrs. Humphreys at his home in Boston. A recent writer on the woollen industry of the United States after mentioning the mill of Col. Humphreys as the largest and most successful in the country, says:

But it had another title to distinction. Colonel Humphreys had been much in England, and had heard the grave complaints of the demoralizing influence of factory industry upon those engaged in it. He was about to transplant the factory

¹ An inquiry at the Treasury Department elicited the information that the final settlement of Col. Humphreys' accounts was made by the office of the 5th Auditor on June 3, 1843, and a balance found due to the said David Humphreys of \$10.33, and that the said amount was certified for payment to Charles D. Lewis, attorney of Wm. Humphreys, administrator of the estate of Col. David Humphreys.

² U. S. Archives, State Dept., Washington, D. C.

system from the old to the new country; and he determined that so far as in him lay, no such abuses as disgraced the early days of the system in England should be transplanted with it. At his instance the Connecticut Legislature passed an act constituting the Selectmen of each town in which manufacturing establishments should be erected, visitors to those institutions, with power to enforce the proper care of the health and the moral well being of the persons employed. This law also required the proprietors to control the morals of their workmen, and educate the children as other children in plain families throughout the State are educated. Schools were established at Humphreysville; prizes were given to those who excelled in their studies, and rewards were also given for proficiency in carding, spinning, weaving, and cloth dressing.

Model tenements were erected for the workmen, and gardens owned by the proprietors furnished the vegetables needed by the occupants of this industrial Paradise, for such the village of Humphreysville was at its start, and for long years afterwards.

Col. Humphreys was the founder of the New England factory village; and he built it upon a basis that explains much that is admirable to this day in the New England factory town. He was one of the most far-sighted and broad-minded men concerned in the building up of the industries that have taken root here.¹

Previous to his departure for Europe, in the summer of 1806, he purchased from Mr. Charles Bulfinch a plot of ground "on Mount Vernon, so called," upon which he had erected a handsome and commodious house.²

¹ "The New England Wool Manufacture," by S. N. D. North, Secretary of the Association, *Bulletin of the Natl. Association of Wool Manufacturers*, vol. xxix., No. iii., September, 1899, pp. 244-246. Also pp. 204-208, *The New England State*, Boston, D. H. Hurd & Co., 1897. The sketch was enlarged and illustrated for the *Bulletin*.

² The deed from "Charles Bulfinch to David Humphreys, of Boston, Esquire," conveys a plot "situate in said Boston, on Mount Vernon, so called, measuring on Olive street in part fifty-nine feet westerly on

Success of Merino Sheep Importation 367

It adjoined one built by Stephen Higginson, a wealthy merchant of Boston. These two houses, with that of Mr. Harrison Gray Otis, were then the most conspicuous and attractive on Olive Street, as it was then called, now Mount Vernon Street.

Five years after his importation of merino sheep Col. Humphreys communicates the results, so far as he had ascertained them, to the Massachusetts Agricultural Society.

BOSTON, Nov. 28th, 1807.

DEAR SIR:

More than five years having now elapsed since the introduction into New England of Merino sheep, in consequence of which the Society for Promoting Agriculture in the State of Massachusetts were pleased to present to me a gold medal, it will doubtless be acceptable to that respectable and patriotic body, to learn that their hopes and expectations concerning the utility of this interesting species of animals have not been disappointed. The attempt to propagate the pure Merinos in this country has been attended with complete success. The extent of the experiment ensures the duration of the unadulterated breed. Instead of degenerating in the quantity or quality of their fleeces, the identical sheep which I brought into this country yield, on an average, half a pound more of

Jonathan Mason and others one hundred and fifty feet, northerly on land of said Bulfinch fifty-six, and easterly on a piece or parcel of land conveyed by said Bulfinch to Stephen Higginson, Jr. the said easterly line running through the centre of the brick wall which divides the house standing on the land herein described from the house standing on the same land conveyed to said Higginson & measuring one hundred & fifty feet. Together with the free and uninterrupted use of and privilege in a certain circular passage way leading to Olive street over the land conveyed by said Bulfinch to said Higginson, which passage way appears on the plan of said two parcels of land, recorded with this deed, and entered upon the back thereof."

The deed is dated February 10, 1806, and is recorded in the Registry of Deeds, Suffolk County, liber 215, folios 147-8. The consideration was four thousand dollars.

wool apiece than they did at the first shearing after their arrival. Nor, on the nicest and most candid examination, is it found that there is any finer wool produced in Spain than that which is annually shorn from these same imported Merinos and their full-blood offspring. The rams born in America are, however, generally preferred to those born in Spain, by persons who now make application to my agent for Merino rams, to cross the blood, in breeding from them by American ewes. It is the opinion of all the farmers in Connecticut who have been acquainted with the original flock and its descendants, both of the pure and mingled blood, that they are hardier, better adapted to our climate, more easily nourished, both in Summer and Winter, than the common breed of American sheep. They are likewise remarkable for being more gregarious and less disposed to stray or get over fences than the others. Finally, it may be asserted that they preserve the entire character, shape, features and qualities of the best Merinos in Spain.

The mixture of the Spanish with the American blood has succeeded in ameliorating the pile of the fleece beyond my most sanguine expectations. As a proof of the superior value of the wool of the half-blooded Merinos, it is a well-known truth that it has been sold for a dollar a pound in Connecticut, and still dearer in New York, the present season, while the best common wool has been sold for about half that price. The half-blooded Merinos produce more wool than the common sheep, and they ordinarily attain a larger size than the Spanish, or American breed, from which they are descended. The facts here stated agree in substance with those established by experience in every country of Europe in which I have travelled, where this breed of sheep has been introduced. In England and France, the greatest care and expense are now bestowed under royal and imperial protection, for its extensive propagation.

A difficulty was experienced at first in carding the wool by the common machines. This has been overcome.

Some farmers, who early introduced a mixture of this blood into their flocks, have made in domestic manufacture, for sale,

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five or six pieces of cloth from this wool during the present year. I shall have several hundred yards, fabricated entirely by machinery, from pure Merino fleeces. Several thousands made by the same process, from the common sheep's wool of the country, have already been sent to market. Samples of both kinds, with the prices are enclosed.

How long a period must pass before the prejudice against the fabrics of our country can be extinguished is not for me to decide. If any suitable means for their extinction could be advised and adopted perhaps an essential service would thereby be rendered to the real prosperity and independence of the United States.

With sentiments of great respect and esteem, I have the honor to be, dear Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

D. HUMPHREYS.

Dr. Aaron Dexter, one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society for Promoting Agriculture in the State of Massachusetts, &c., &c., &c.

FACTORY (RIMMON FALLS), DERBY.
Dec. 10th, 1807.

DEAR SIR—

The importance of rightly understanding the best means of multiplying and improving the fine-wooled breed of sheep, derived from a cross of the pure Merino blood with that of the common flocks of the country, must be my apology for offering a few observations in addition to those which I had the honor of communicating to your Agricultural Society, on the 28th of last month.

To facilitate the extension of this improved breed, and to confirm its superior excellence in point of wool, it is conceived, are objects which have a peculiar claim to the public attention.

A mixed breed being first produced from our finest-wooled Ewes by full-blooded Merino rams, it is still desirable that the Spanish blood should be renewed for three or four generations, through the medium of sires of that race, then the system of *breeding in and in* as it is technically called, and as

it has been ably explained by Dr. Parry, of Bath, in his late "Essay on the nature, produce, origin, and extension of the Merino breed of Sheep," proves decisive for the accomplishment of the objects proposed, in the shortest time, at the smallest expense, and with the greatest certainty, of any other plan hitherto suggested.

It is judged by the farmers in this neighborhood, who are best acquainted with this confirmed mixed breed, that, aside of their superior excellence with respect to wool, they have a greater tendency to fatten, on the same keeping, than any other sheep within the compass of their knowledge. Although this disposition to fatten is of little consequence so long as they are bred for the fleece only; yet it may be well, that those farmers who may hereafter propagate them for the sake of the carcass should not be ignorant of the fact.

From my further inquiries with regard to the weight of the fleeces of my Merinos, I learn that they have increased somewhat more than I stated in my letter of the 28th of last month. One of the rams born here has produced this season seven pounds and five ounces of washed wool.

This wool, would, it is presumed, be worth one dollar and a half per pound in England. I have the united testimony of all the people engaged in or acquainted with, its fabrication into cloth, to prove that it has not deteriorated, by reason of its augmented quantity, in any respect whatsoever.

I take the liberty of inclosing four specimens of cloth, Nos. 1, 2 and 3 were made from the wool of the pure Merinos; and No. 4, from that of the half-blooded race.

I beg you will receive the assurances of the real and great esteem, with which I have the honor to be, dear Sir, your most obedient and very humble servant,

D. HUMPHREYS.

To the Hon. Dudley A. Tyng, Corresponding Secretary to the Society for Promoting Agriculture in the State of Massachusetts.¹

¹ Register of the Vermont Merino Sheep Breeders' Association, i., Rutland, 1883, pp. 26, 27. The letters originally appeared in *Georgick Papers of the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture*, pp. 59-63.

When Colonel Humphreys commenced the manufacture of cloth he knew little practically about that industry or machinery. He, however, studied assiduously, and was ready to adopt any improvements in machinery or methods that seemed advantageous. He was the friend of inventors, like that genius Jacob Perkins, of Newburyport,¹ whose carding machine simplified and shortened many processes in cloth manufacture. While it was the Colonel's design to make the business profitable, he was more anxious to demonstrate that in America cloth could be made of the same quality as the imported. He was frequently in consultation with judicious friends and statesmen upon the passage of a bill for the encouragement of manufactures and the importation of raw materials.

At the fall session of the Connecticut Legislature, at New Haven, in October, 1808, a committee was appointed to report upon the introduction of merino sheep into the State and the industrial community at Humphreysville. In a long and well written report, which was signed by the Hon. Elizur Goodrich as Chairman, the committee mentioned the facts and considered the effect upon the

¹ Jacob Perkins was born in Newburyport, on June 9, 1766. He was apprenticed when twelve years old to Mr. Davis, a goldsmith, who died before his indentures expired. The young man continued the business for the benefit of the widow and children until he was twenty-one, inventing a new and cheaper method of plating gold beads and shoe buckles, the chief articles made. When he left the business he invented improvements in dies for coining, and was employed by Massachusetts to make copper cents.

When twenty-four he invented a machine for cutting and heading nails at one operation. A check plate for engraving state bills was soon after invented and none of those printed from it were ever counterfeited. His devices for measuring the depth of water and the velocity of a vessel through it were considered wonderful in their day. His improvements in woollen and other machinery were remarkable.

After leaving Newburyport in 1816 he lived in Philadelphia, still inventing useful appliances, and finally went to England where he gained recognition as the great American inventor, and profitable employment. He died at his son's house, Regent Square, London, on July 11, 1849.

native breeds of sheep after six years of experiment. It was found that the wool of the mixed breed was superior in every essential quality and that the pure merinos had not deteriorated by their transportation to this country. The importation had been of the very greatest benefit to the farmers of Connecticut. The committee then considered the manufactory at Derby in that part of the town "which may with great propriety be termed Humphreysville." Col. Humphreys had been at great expense for mill and machinery, and at this time among the products were "cotton yarn and stuffs, broad and narrow cloths and stockings of various kinds."

The report details the introduction of labour-saving machinery into the various buildings at the Falls, and then takes up the topic of the employment of children by Col. Humphreys.

By this combination of means he overcomes in a degree the embarrassments resulting from the dearness of labour and at the same time in a mode very honorable to himself and useful to the State converts into an active capital the exertions of persons who otherwise would be idle, and in many instances a burthen to the community, either from their bias of temper, habit, infirmity of body or some other cause, indisposing or disqualifying them for severe toils.

It "views with much satisfaction the exertions of Colonel Humphreys to render the exertions of women and children more useful, and those of the latter more early useful. Nothing is drawn from tillage and yet the funds of national industry increased." The maintenance of a schoolmaster at Col. Humphreys' own expense is alluded to as an evidence of his disinterested exertions for the State and community.

For these great benefits to the public weal the com-

mittee considers that he is entitled to a public testimony of respect from his native State.

The committee offered a preamble and resolutions which were unanimously approved and adopted by both Houses.

In them thanks are given

to the Honourable David Humphreys, native citizen of this State, and late Minister from the United States to the Court of Madrid, as a testimony of respect for his patriotic exertions in importing into this State one hundred of the Merino breed of sheep, to improve the breed of that useful animal in this country.

They also

approve the wise and well considered measures adopted by Colonel Humphreys in establishing and conducting the manufacture of cotton and woollen fabricks at Humphreysville in the town of Derby, and that to encourage his valuable exertions in the arts of peace his superintendents, foremen, and apprentices in these branches of manufacture be exempt from the poll tax, and assessments, from military duty, and from working at highways, and his cotton and woollen establishments from taxes and assessments for the term of ten years from the rising of the Assembly.

An authenticated copy was to be sent to Colonel Humphreys by the Governor. The Governor, who was our Colonel's old companion in arms, wrote thus agreeably after the adjournment of the Legislature:

4 Nov., 1808.

MY DEAR SIR,

In obedience to the request of the Legislature of this State, I have the satisfaction to enclose to you for your acceptance a copy of certain resolutions which have been passed by our General Assembly respecting the introduction by you of the

Humphreysville

inestimable race of Merino sheep from the Kingdom of Spain; and also respecting the establishment at Humphreysville of your valuable manufactory.

I beg you to be assured that I take real pleasure in making to you this transmission which so honourably conveys to you the high sense which our Legislature entertains of your patriotism and laudable attempts to promote the interests and welfare of your native State.

Together with this testimonial from the State I pray you to accept my best wishes for your prosperity and success of your institution at Humphreysville,

And believe me to be,

Sir,

Your obedient and humble Servant,
JONATHAN TRUMBULL.

HON. COL. HUMPHREYS.

To this the Colonel sent a suitable acknowledgment:

NEW HAVEN, Nov. 4.

SIR,

Few things could have excited more pleasing sensations than the proceedings of the Legislature which your Excellency has been pleased to communicate in so polite a manner.—Since in my opinion nothing can have a happier tendency to remove any prejudice that may possibly still remain, as well as to impress correct ideas on the public mind respecting the subject in question.

Your Excellency will do me the justice to be persuaded that such grateful sentiments and friendly wishes could not have been conveyed to me through a more acceptable channel,

And that I have the honour to be with unutterable respect and esteem,

Your Excellency's most obliged and humble Servant,
D. HUMPHREYS.

His Excellency

JONATHAN TRUMBULL, &c., &c.

The report and correspondence were extensively circulated through the press, and made the works at Humphreysville better known throughout the country.¹

Its circulation increased the demand for the product of the Humphreysville looms, and cloth from that and other woollen mills was eagerly bought by patriotic citizens who desired to encourage home manufactures and wore garments of "homespun." On November 13, 1808, the President wrote to the Hon. Abraham Bishop, collector of the port of New Haven, a letter in which he said:

Homespun is become the spirit of the times: I think it an useful one and therefore that it is a duty to encourage it by example. The best fine cloth made in the U. S. is, I am told, at the manufactory of Col. Humphreys in your neighbourhood. Could I get the favor of you to procure me there as much of his best as would make a coat? I should prefer a deep blue, but if not to be had then a black.

In his answer dated November 30, Mr. Bishop apologizes for his delay which was caused by the absence of Col. Humphreys at Philadelphia. "The Colonel returned this evening and says that four weeks at least will be necessary for furnishing a piece of superior quality which is in hand."

On December 8, 1808, the President wrote to Mr. Bishop:

I shall be glad to receive it whenever it can come, but a great desideratum will be lost if not received in time to be made up for our New Year's day Exhibition when we expect every one will endeavor to be in homespun, and I should be sorry to be marked as being in default. I would sacrifice much in the

¹ The report and correspondence in full will be found in the *Connecticut Courant*, the *Connecticut Journal* for November, 1808, also *United States Gazette*, Philadelphia, November 11, 1808, No. 5029, vol. xxxv.

quality to this circumstance of time: however, I leave it to the kindness of Col. Humphreys and yourself.

When the Colonel learned this, he immediately wrote to the President:

NEW HAVEN, Dec: 12th 1808.

DEAR SIR,

I have seen the letter which you addressed to a Gentleman in this city, during my absence, requesting him to obtain Cloth from my Factory for your own wearing.

There is no broad Cloth finished at present, except some Pieces made of the Wool of the half blooded Merinos. I have directed one to be manufactured of the pure fleece.

It will not be completed in less than six weeks or two months; owing to the occupation of the hands on other work previously engaged, and to the advanced season of the year which is unfavorable to several of the operations.

Thus far had I written, when the same Gentleman shewed me a second letter (this day received) expressing your anxious wish to be supplied with sufficient Cloth for a Coat to wear on the approaching New Year's day, even if it should not be of the finest quality. I have accordingly ordered the delivery of a Piece of doubled milled Casemer made of the pure Merinos. I hope it may arrive in time, & that it will answer your present purpose. This will be found perhaps, not unlike the Leyden Cloths, which are also woven with a wale. I enclose specimens of Cloths (made of the half & full blooded merinos wool) lately sent to the Premium Soc^y in Philadelphia. The superfine is from the Piece for which the Premium was awarded. By a letter from me to the President of that Soc^y, you will perceive my general ideas on the subjects of raw Materials & Manufactures in this Country.

Continuing to make some efforts to draw forth the Industry of a portion of the Community, hitherto less usefully employed than it might have been; and waiting with patience the result



The Label Used on Woollens from Humphreys' Mill

of these efforts heretofore unaided & not particularly encouraged, I remain,

Very respectfully, dear Sir,
Your Mo obed Servant,
D. HUMPHREYS.

THOS. JEFFERSON,

The President of the U. S., &c., &c.

P. S. It is possible there may be a change in the Piece of Cloth alluded to, another Piece having been just finished & sent here. It is of $\frac{3}{2}$ & $\frac{7}{8}$ Wool. Mr. Bishop will have his option.*

John Wooster, of New Haven, a politician, and an admirer of Jefferson, and also a friend of Humphreys, seems to have been somewhat of a wit, judging from the following peculiar epistle addressed to President Jefferson. Green trout at Christmas was evidently considered by Mr. Wooster an irresistible bait.

WORTHY PRESIDENT

Having this day had an opportunity of an Interview with my Friend David Humphreys; I seemed to feel a Divine Impulse on my heart to Grace the Col^o Christmas Supper of Green Trout, with your Excellency's Presence.

JOHN WOOSTER.

Dated at Humphreysville

Derby Connecticut

Dec^r 10th 1808.

Superscription Free

To THOMAS JEFFERSON

thro' the Medium of the Secretary

New Haven
Dec 10 ²

* U. S. Archives, State Dept., Washington, D. C.

* *Ibid.*

On December 14, 1808, Mr. Bishop wrote to the President that he would receive by mail—

5½ yds. narrow superf. Cloth, from Col. Humphreys' factory, being of $\frac{7}{8}$ th Merino wool, price \$4.50 per yard. Mr. E. Bacon of the house of rep. will do me the favour to receive from you the am^t expressed in the enclosed receipt. The Col. laments that it is not in his power to furnish you at this time with cloth of a superior quality.

The receipt reads:

President JEFFERSON

Dr. to 5½ yds. Cloth Bot of Col. Humphreys	
at \$4.50.....	\$24.75
Recd payment in full of Abraham Bishop, Esq.,	
For Col. HUMPHREYS.	
JOHN HUMPHREYS, Jun ^r	

NEW HAVEN, Dec. 26th 1808.¹

The coat of American cloth worn by the President at the reception was greatly admired, and set a fashion for homespun.

This letter of the President gives some opinions upon American industry which he had not expressed in any other form:

WASHINGTON, Jan. 20—1809.

SIR,

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of Dec. 12 and to return you my thanks for the cloth furnished me, it came in good time & does honour to your manufactory, being as good as any one would wish to wear in any country. Amidst the pressure of evils with which the belligerent edicts have

¹ The original correspondence is in the Archives of the New Haven Colony Historical Society. It was published in full on pp. 143-148, *Papers of the New Haven Colony Historical Society*, vol. i., New Haven: Printed for the Society, 1865.

afflicted us, some permanent good will arise, the spring given to manufactures will have durable effects. Knowing most of my own state I can affirm with confidence that were free intercourse opened again to-morrow she would never again import half of the coarse goods which she has done to the date of the edicts, these will be made in our families, for finer goods we must resort to the larger manufactories established in the towns, some jealousy of this spirit of manufacture seems excited among commercial men. It would have been as just when we first began to make our own ploughs & hoes—they have certainly lost the profit of bringing these from a foreign country. My idea is that we should encourage home manufactures to the extent of our own consumption of every thing of which we raise the raw material. I do not think it fair in the ship-owners to say we ought not to make our own axes, nails &c. here that they may have the benefit of carrying the iron to Europe & bringing back the axes, nails &c. our agriculture will still afford surplus enough to employ a due proportion of navigation. Wishing every possible success for your personal, as the public benefit, I salute you with assurance of great esteem & respect—

TH. JEFFERSON.

COL. HUMPHREYS—

On January 20, 1809, the President briefly acknowledged to Mr. Bishop the receipt of the cloth in good condition, stated that he had paid the cost to Mr. Bacon, and thanked him for his trouble in the matter.¹

The “Premium Society” alluded to by Col. Humphreys in his letter to President Jefferson was an organization formed within the Philadelphia Manufacturing Society which had been established early in 1808. It had a capital of \$50,000 in \$1000 shares. Among its members were Israel Israel, Elisha Gordon, Tench Coxe, Mathew

¹ The letter in full is in the *Papers of the New Haven Colony Society*, i., p. 145.

Carey, Wm. G. Birch, A. Philson, David Jackson, Samuel Witherill, Jr., and Joseph Jones. In April, the Manufacturing Society issued an address saying that they meant to use water power and erect buildings and machinery for making cotton and woollen cloth and other goods. By members of this Society the Premium Society was formed in July, 1808, which desired to encourage domestic manufactures by offering premiums in cash

for broad cloth; fancy cloths; dress flannel in imitation of Welsh; cotton chain filled in with wool, the best cotton goods, twilled and raised on one side to imitate flannel; for the first thread mill set up to make gray and colored thread; for the best sheeting of linen chain and cotton filling; for cotton cloth suitable for the clothing of working persons; for the best imitation of Russia iron sheeting; and for Russia duck.¹

For several of these articles there was no competition.

The piece of broadcloth entered by Col. Humphreys was, according to the requirements of the competition, twenty yards long and six quarters wide. It is traditional that from it coats were made for President Jefferson, Secretary Madison, other heads of Departments, and Captain Isaac Hull. The price is said to have been twelve dollars a yard.

The letter written to the President of the Premium Society does not seem to be in existence.

¹ *History of Philadelphia, 1609-1884*, by J. Thomas Scharf and Thompson Westcott, Philadelphia, L. W. Everts & Co., 1884, p. 531.

CHAPTER XVIII

Woollen Industry

Right of Search Claimed by British Vessels—Attack on the *Chesapeake*—The Embargo Act—Its Disastrous Effect on American Commerce—Its Good Effect on the Woollen Industry—Humphreys' Correspondence with Elkanah Watson—And Mr. Morgan Lewis—Col. Humphreys' Partners in T. Vose & Co.—Firm Title Changed to the Humphreysville Manufacturing Company—Repeal of the Embargo Act—Description of Factory Life at Humphreysville—Letter of Col. Humphreys to President Madison—Sends a Model of New Spinning Machine to Patent Office.

THE aggressions of England upon American maritime rights by her persistence in claiming the right of search of all American vessels for British subjects, and the patrolling by British cruisers of the coast of the United States, had long been the topic of diplomatic correspondence, but without any satisfactory response from the British ministry.

Finally, the indignation of every American citizen was aroused by the attack of the British frigate *Leopard*, of fifty guns, upon the American frigate *Chesapeake*, of thirty guns, off the coast of Virginia in June, 1807.

With a desire to inflict a serious injury upon England, Congress, at the urgent request of the President, passed on December 22, 1807, an act of embargo.

By it, all American vessels were prohibited from sailing for any foreign port, and all foreign ships were prohibited from entering any American harbour for the sale of goods.

Its effect was to tie up at the wharves of New York, Boston, Salem, Newburyport, New Haven, Norfolk, and other ports, the vessels in which American capital had been invested and which had engaged in a profitable foreign trade.

Europe viewed the act with sarcastic amusement, and England with its large commerce in every part of the world did not perceptibly feel the loss of the American market for its goods.

As New England and New York were largely commercial and their prosperity depended upon the cargoes of goods brought from other countries, the embargo was hailed with angry protests, as a blow aimed at their prosperity.

The act bore cruelly upon many who had put their savings into vessels which must now be idle. President Jefferson and Congress were vehemently condemned and threats of secession were boldly made by the Federalists of Boston and other places.

That France and England, the countries which it was hoped would feel the effects of the act, were not seriously affected by it, added to the exasperation of New England.

At this juncture the wisdom of establishing such factories as those of Col. Humphreys was made manifest. As commerce declined, as the well-built ships fell to pieces at the deserted docks, the energy of the people sought a new outlet in establishing woollen mills and increasing the cotton mills. The embargo caused people to consider the most practical manner in which to bring back prosperity to New England. The wide dispersion of full-blooded, half-blooded, and graded merino sheep in New England and the West, the large importations which followed that of 1802, especially by Mr. William Jarvis, consul of the United States at Lisbon, in 1810 and 1811, had made the breeding of sheep and the production of wool a very large industry.

The reputation of the Humphreys flock brought the

Colonel into correspondence with many progressive farmers in all parts of the country.

One of his most interesting correspondents was the Hon. Elkanah Watson, then living at Pittsfield, Massachusetts. Mr. Watson, as a young man, had been in France during the Revolution, where he was the representative of a large American commercial house, and enjoyed the intimate acquaintance of Dr. Franklin. He was an intensely patriotic and progressive citizen, a friend of De Witt Clinton, General Schuyler, Chancellor Livingston, and other prominent men in New York. He was an early suggester of a canal across the State of New York. In 1807, he had purchased a merino ram and two ewes. The exhibition of them by Mr. Watson under the great elm at Pittsfield led to the formation of the Berkshire Agricultural Society. He was an ardent promoter of woollen manufactures and successfully introduced them on a firm basis into Berkshire County.¹

Judge Van Ness of Kinderhook, Columbia County, New York, desiring to improve his flock of sheep, sought from Gen. Morgan Lewis² an introduction to Col. Hum-

¹ A portion of the correspondence of Col. Humphreys and Mr. Watson will be found in *Men and Times of the Revolution*, by Elkanah Watson, edited by his son Winslow C. Watson, New York, Dana & Co., 1857, pp. 395-432.

² Morgan, the second son of the Hon. Francis Lewis, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, was born in the city of New York. While very young he entered the Continental army, his first service being as Major in the Second New York Regiment under Col. John Jay, in November, 1775. He served under Gen. Schuyler and Gen. Gates with distinction. At Stillwater he was distinguished for his bravery, and arranged, under the General, the details of the surrender of Burgoyne. After the Revolution he became successively Attorney-General, Chief Justice, and Governor of New York. He also represented that State in the United States Senate. In 1799 he married Gertrude, a daughter of Chancellor Livingston. In the war of 1812 he was commanding General of the New York troops. He was for many years President General of the Cincinnati and Grand Master of the Lodge of Masons in the State of New York. He died at his home in New York City in April, 1844.

phreys. Both the introduction and the letter enclosing it are characteristic of the venerable patriot who outlived so many of his contemporaries:

STAATSBURGH, 24th April, 1810.

DEAR SIR,

I with pleasure comply with your request for an introductory letter to Colo^l Humphreys. In approaching him some address will be necessary—Such as compliments to his flocks—remarks on the fineness of their wool; characteristic peculiarities of Breed &c.—But not a syllable must escape you in favor of the Clermont stock. Some handsome things may be said also in favor of his patriotic Exertions, which will not be ill received. He will probably detain you a Day or two, as he does not hastily make up his Mind; during which time you may amuse yourself at New Haven, which is about ten miles from Humphreysville. I would recommend to you Butler's Tavern as the best. Colo^l H. always puts up there, going only occasionally to his factory. Your best route will be through Sharon and Litchfield.

I perfectly understand the Origin and Motive of the report respecting the refusal of your general Committee to adopt my Nomination. The feds were very industrious in communicating to me, what they called a new evidence of Clintonian Hostility. The effect of which was totally destroyed by the accompaniment to the information, which was a repetition of a request that I would be their Candidate, which I had before repeatedly rejected.

Your County Address, as to Composition, has considerable Merit, and, I think, is well adapted to its occasion.

Present my best respects to Mrs. Van Ness, and accept the best wishes for a successful issue to your merino Expedition, of

Dr Sir

Your friend & Servt
MORGAN LEWIS.

STAATSBURGH 24th April 1810.

DEAR SIR,

Permit me to introduce to your acquaintance my friend, Judge Van Ness, who, being a farmer on an extensive Scale, is like myself, anxious to become the Proprietor of a merino flock, from the Humphreysville Stock. As I understood from you, it was your wish to place such Sheep as you had to spare, in the hands of Gentlemen who would be punctual to their Engagements. I have encouraged Judge Van Ness to expect a favorable issue to his Application. A Gentleman in my neighborhood, Maj'r George Provost, would also gladly take a Buck of you, if you should have one to spare. Will you be kind enough to inform me.

My Merinos are much improved, and are in high order—the ewes have each a Lamb; but unfortunately both are Males. My increase from the Buck is small, owing to my Ewes having principally been with Lamb before I put him with them.

I shall shortly after shearing, have the pleasure of seeing you at Humphreysville, and of complying with my contract. Will you do me the favor to let me know at what time you will be at Humphreysville in the course of six or eight weeks.

With sentiments of Esteem

I am, Dr Sir, Your Ob't Ser't
MORGAN LEWIS.¹

From its first establishment, the business at Humphreysville had been carried on under the firm name of "T. Vose and Company." Captain Vose, a man of sound judgment, who had been in every quarter of the world, had married Betsy, the third daughter and fourth child of Major Elijah and Anna (Mansfield) Humphreys, a brother of the Colonel.

John Humphreys, Jr., was a son of the Hon. John Humphreys, another brother. He seems to have been the Colonel's special representative in many transactions. He

¹ From the Collection of the Hon. James D. Dewell, New Haven, Conn.

was afterward known as Judge Humphreys. A third nephew, William, another son of the Hon. John, was associated with the factory and had charge of the counting room. Mr. John Winterbotham, the superintendent, was admitted into the partnership. Col. Humphreys, it is understood, furnished all the capital for the initiation of the enterprise, and shared with his nephews the profits.

In 1810, the partnership was dissolved and by an act of the Legislature a corporation, *The Humphreysville Manufacturing Company*, was formed with the partners.

In the months succeeding the repeal of the Embargo Act and the enforcement of the Non-Intercourse Act which succeeded it, Col. Humphreys was chiefly employed in enlarging his business and providing for the comfort of his employees. For the boys, he provided not only teachers who instructed them at night, but he also formed them into a military company, occasionally drilling them himself. The daughter of the superintendent, Mrs. Ann S. Stephens, who became a well-known writer, says:

Colonel Humphreys took great interest in the discipline and education of the apprentice boys attached to the factory. Seventy-three of these boys were indentured, I have been told, at the same time, from the New York alms-house, and others from the neighboring villages.

For these he established evening and Sunday schools, with competent teachers; and indulged his military taste by uniforming them at no light expense as a militia company, drilling them himself. Of course so many lads, gathered from the lower classes of a great city, must have numbered some bad ones. Thefts and other small vices were sometimes discovered, and at such the offender was given his choice to be rendered up to the legal authorities, or tried and punished by a court organized on the premises. Almost invariably, they elected the latter, where they expected, and received a milder sentence than the severe laws of that period would have given. . . . In his

business enterprises Col. Humphreys did not forget the literary propensities that had mated him with Trumbull and Barlow in Yale College. He wrote a great deal for the benefit and amusement of the operatives; and the Christmas holidays were frequently celebrated with private theatricals, where an original play, of which he was the author, would be performed by the most talented work-people, and he more than once took a prominent part in them. As the best people of the neighborhood and other towns were invited to form an audience, these plays became a favorite amusement. In fact Col. Humphreys omitted nothing that could arouse the ambition or promote intellectual improvement among the operatives, although he did it after a grand military fashion.

For use upon "Muster days" and other festive occasions, Madam Humphreys embroidered a handsome blue silk banner bearing as a device in the centre the coat of arms of the State with merino sheep as supporters on the dexter and sinister sides, and the legend, "Humphreysville, Jam nova progenes, Perseverando Pacta semper servanda. MDCCCX."¹

Mrs. Stephens recalls with evident pleasure the visits of the Colonel to the factory, and his presence of mind:

Sometimes the Colonel brought very distinguished compatriots to visit the mills, of which he was said to be very proud. I remember him dashing up the road one day in an open carriage, drawn by four horses, with Stephen Van Renssalaer, the Albany patroon, at his side. They spent some time walking over the premises—took refreshments at the Colonel's apartments, and drove back to a cottage he owned in Hotchkiss Town, on the New Haven road.

Indeed the old soldier usually came in state when he visited his native town, and his presence there was always followed by more or less commotion.

¹ This banner is now in the custody of the New Haven Colony Historical Society.

One day, coming along the river road, near the bridge, he checked his carriage to learn the meaning of a crowd that had collected on the bank. A child had just been taken from the water insensible and apparently dead. The old man gave a few hasty directions, snatched the reins from his coachman, dashed across the bridge and up Falls hill with the dangerous recklessness of a man who had no thought of his own life, and disappeared. In less time than seemed possible, he dashed back with Dr. Stoddard by his side. His prompt action saved the child, and endeared both the old soldier and the physician more than ever to the people.¹

This letter to President Madison shows the wise method he had introduced of factory inspection and his desire for the permanent benefit of the woollen manufactures of the country:

HUMPHREYSVILLE, Janry 10th 1812.

SIR,

As it is not among the least of the important duties of the President, to become acquainted so far as may be, with the resources & ability of the U. S. for supplying their wants; it has been judged not improper to bring to his view a Statement made by the visitors of the Humphreysville Manufacturing Establishment respecting the operation of a new Machine for spinning Yarn of various kinds.

If this method of spinning Wool & other Substances, by water and other powers, should answer the purpose in as complete & expeditious a manner, as is believed by these and other respectable Gentlemen, who have seen it at work, it will greatly facilitate & expedite to the Inhabitants of the Union the means of supplying themselves with the important articles of Clothing.

The extensive spread & successful cultivation of the Breed of Sheep, bearing fine wool, introduced from Spain by me affords a certain supply of that most essential raw material.

I propose to be at the City of Washington in the course of

¹ *History of Derby*, pp. 456-458.

a few days, if no occurrence should intervene to prevent my journey, for the purpose of conversing with some of the friends of American Improvements, on the best mode of early extending the knowledge & benefit of this Invention.

A model sufficiently large to show the Effect, in perfection, will be sent by the first conveyance that offers, to the Patent Office, in order to satisfy the natural curiosity of any Person, who may wish to examine the principle & process made use of in a machine; which has been admired for the ingenuity of its simple construction.

With great respect
Y^r mo ob Serv^t

D. HUMPHREYS—

JAMES MADISON, President of the U. S.¹

A careful examination of the Madison Papers at the State Department, Washington, shows that President Madison did not preserve the enclosed "Statement." The present records of the Patent Office give no clue to the identity of the "machine" mentioned. The "model" was probably destroyed in the fire at the Patent Office in 1837. In the list of patents is found: "T. Brown, Spinner, Wool. May 12, 1813."

¹ U. S. Archives, State Dept., Washington, D. C.

CHAPTER XIX

War of 1812

The Political State of Affairs in 1812—Humphreys' Attitude—Disclosures of Col. John Henry—Embargo for Sixty Days Declared—War Declared on Great Britain by Congress—Special Session of the Connecticut Legislature—Colonel Humphreys Appointed Captain-General of the Veteran Volunteers—Commissioned Brigadier-General—Humphreys' Address to the Inhabitants of Connecticut—Introduces in Legislature Resolutions Commending Bravery of Isaac Hull—Humphreys Representative 1812-1814—Addresses to President—And Secretary of State—Draws up a Plan of Action for the American Fleet—Urges an Attack on the Algerine Pirates—Action of Decatur—Reply of the President—Dissatisfaction of New England with the War—And Especially with Jefferson's Administration—Meeting of the Hartford Convention—Its Resolutions—Declaration of Treaty of Peace with Great Britain.

TO the true lover of his country, a man who had borne the brunt of battle, who had upheld American interests at two of the proudest courts of Europe, the condition of public affairs could not be a matter of indifference. With the other Federalists he believed that the measures of Jefferson and Madison were ruinous, and that the country could not bear the burden of self-support without the aid of commerce or of a very great increase in manufactures. With all this he nevertheless felt that the honour of the country must be maintained. With others in New England he held firmly to the right of the States to manage their own internal affairs, and he resented any

undue assumption of authority by the general Government.

The war with Great Britain, for which the years of irritation and negotiation had been a preparation, was hastened by reports that accredited agents of England had been sowing seeds of dissatisfaction among the northern and north-eastern States, and that the opposition of the Federalists was the prelude to open rebellion against the authority of the United States. These rumours were seemingly confirmed by the disclosures of Col. John Henry to Col. Monroe, Secretary of State, in February, 1812.

He represented himself to be the confidential agent of Sir James Craig, the Governor-General of Canada, to the influential men of Boston and other New England cities. He had kept in touch with the political movements of the New England capital, and had held many conversations with prominent citizens. These he daily reported to his superior. He was now willing to sell to the United States, for fifty thousand dollars, copies of documents and letters in his possession, since the office promised to him by the Governor-General had not been conferred.

The importance of the letters as showing disloyalty in New England was largely overestimated. Irresponsible newspaper utterances were taken as the expression of mature public opinion. When to the letters was added presumably true intelligence of attacks upon our north-western frontier by Canadian Indians, and the preparation of an army to seize Detroit, which was almost defenceless, as the garrison had by an inefficient Secretary of War been greatly reduced, the President and his advisers thought the time had come for open hostilities.

An embargo for sixty days was declared on April 1, 1812, as a preliminary war measure, and on June 1, 1812, a confidential message was sent by President Madison to Congress urging a declaration of war against England.

The grounds he gave for this action were: the continued impressment of our seamen; the vexatious blockading of our ports in violation of international law; and the attacks by the north-western Indians upon our military posts and settlements at the instigation of the British.

After secret debates and much party caucussing, accusations and counter-accusations, the resolution declaring war was passed by a vote of seventy-nine to forty-nine in the House of Representatives, and nineteen to thirteen in the Senate on June 18, 1812. Historians who have gone below the surface of our politics at that time, analyzing the vote, find that "the division was largely upon sectional lines. Fourteen of the nineteen Senators voting for the declaration lived South of the Delaware River; sixty-two of the seventy-nine Representatives who constituted the majority came from the same region."

While both Massachusetts and Connecticut refused to honour the demand of the United States authorities for the services of the State militia they were careful to provide for the defence of their long coast line.

A special session of the Connecticut Legislature was held in August, 1812, providing for a special volunteer organization to be composed of those exempt from military duty and with such commanders as the Governor might appoint.¹

Before this act went into effect, Col. Humphreys had convened many of his townsmen at the old meeting house on Academy Hill, Derby. After a stirring address by him, a company of troopers was formed of which the Colonel was made commander. The movement spread through the State and the "Veteran Volunteers," as they were

¹ *The Making of the Nation, 1783-1817*, by Francis A. Walker, Ph.D., LL.D., President of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, with Maps and an Appendix, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1897, volume iii., American History Series, p. 225.

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called, were rapidly enrolled for service. Col. Humphreys was chosen as Captain-General. In June, 1813, he was commissioned as Brigadier-General in command of the Volunteers, by the Hon. John Cotton Smith, Governor of the State. While the organization was forming, the Captain-General issued an address which gave the reasons for the formation of such a body of troops, and urged the people of the State to vigilance in defending their homes and State.

ON THE NECESSITY OF STATE AND SELF-DEFENCE

GEN. HUMPHREYS' ADDRESS TO THE INHABITANTS OF CONNECTICUT

If the privilege of having some military service in youth under some of the greatest Captains of the age, and having spent my best days in various public employments to which I was appointed without ever having solicited any, give some claim to public indulgence, now that I am again called in the same manner to take the command of one of the most respectable bodies of freemen who ever offered spontaneously their aid for the public defence, on any occasion, it is respectfully conceived that this address to my fellow citizens, explanatory of the motives by which I am actuated, and the duties which have devolved on them, will not be deemed obtrusive or untimely.

At my period of life and under my circumstances an apology might perhaps seem proper for recurring to arms, from the tranquillity which I have enjoyed since my return from the mission to Madrid. Those inhabitants of Connecticut who best know me will bear testimony that my time and attention have been fully occupied, in increasing and spreading the fine wooled breed of sheep imported by me from Spain; in establishing manufactures of different kinds; and in promoting the culture of the useful arts and indispensable economy of human life, more especially they know that I derive constant satisfaction from having given the first proof to the world that children may be employed and brought up in factories, without having

their education neglected or their morals in danger of being corrupted.

These humble pursuits do not savor of ambition; nor love of personal aggrandisement, nor will selfishness be imputed as the motive.

Standing aloof from party and having no predilections for any country but my own, I shall not be accused of having displayed any political character but that of an American devoted to the Constitution; that is to say the Constitution well administered.

Thus much was deemed necessary to be said to justify me (in the view of some well disposed persons not well acquainted with the facts) in applauding the policy of the State of my nativity. Were Washington still living I have no doubt that he would approve the uniform conduct of that State; as he always did while alive to my knowledge.

Connecticut among the foremost in the struggle for independence, among the first to adopt the Constitution, will not be the last to tamely suffer that independence to be lost, that Constitution to be impaired. Zealous for morals, unchangeable in habits, her physical force, her martial energies, will all be put forth to save her institutions, as well as to prevent the separation of the States.

Her sons unambitious of foreign conquest contented with her narrow limits, will perish in the last ditch, if needful, before they will yield what they know to be their rights.

Let those who wantonly induce hostility, let those who fight for acquisition of territory, for new states of heterogeneous population to become members of the Union, for wild lands unbounded as they are unnecessary, and would be unprofitable, boast their disinterested and exclusive patriotism.

Not such is the policy of the good people of Connecticut. They desire no such inheritance to witness or reward their loyalty. In loyalty to the Union they yield to none.

However reluctantly they have been brought into the present war by those who were constitutionally authorized to declare it, and however desirous of a speedy, safe and honourable peace they now are, they will fulfil their constitutional

obligations in resorting to all legal measures to effectuate a pacification. Exposed as they are by their situation to increasing alarms and dangers, in their judgment the circumstances imperiously demand it. They have more than one hundred miles of maritime frontier to guard. The naval war is transferred from New York to New London. In the face of our dwellings rides a formidable enemy, superior in numbers, artillery and munitions to all the armies which have been brought against our whole inland frontier: for whose defence millions have been expended. Exhausted by drains of impost and tonnage paid into the public treasury for protection: our foreign trade annihilated, our coasting vessels rotting, left to defend ourselves, with not even a gunboat to aid, vulnerable at innumerable points, what remains but to rally round the State Standard to repel invasion, and to retain our State Independence, and Sovereignty in connection with those of the Union?

Wisely anticipating the calamities ready to fall upon us, our late and present Chief Magistrates, our General Assembly in its extra session in August last, and at its stated meetings since that time, have pointed the path of duty. So far as our means would permit, a scheme of defence has been matured, and preparations made accordingly. Associated and prepared, men of Connecticut, be at your posts! March for the defence of your neighbours nearest the point of attack the moment that the alarm shall be given! Meet every aggressor on the threshold of the State!

Sit not with folded arms in inglorious ease, consigned by sloth or pusillanimity, to ruin—the pitiless votaries and victims of shameful apathy.

Let HOME which embraces in its bosom, your aged parents, your beloved wives and sisters, your tender offspring, be the word of rallying.

Time was, your deeds were cited as examples. It will be again. Rise in the majesty of your strength: By all that is dear and sacred in the social order of things, you are invoked to do your duty. Show the world what can be done by farmers, in defence of a rugged soil and hard earned substance.

Your RESOURCE, under Heaven is in yourselves! Your Stronghold is in your inestimable institutions. If your civil, literary, moral, and religious *Institutions* from whence the stability of your habits is derived have provoked the mirth and mockery of foolish or ignorant foreigners, or native Americans still less excusable than they, do not abandon that stronghold but with your mortal existence itself.

If the war shall be of long duration, which I hope and believe will not be the case, let us join (as we are authorized to do by the Constitution) in mutual aid with the neighbouring Atlantic States; for the common protection of our long extended line of maritime frontier; in such a manner as to make ourselves respected, & cause our habitations and property to be sheltered from all kinds of aggression. Where law reigns as with us intestine trouble never comes.

Neither disgraceful mobs nor habitual violators of peace can exist at the same time with our institutions, cling to them, then, as to the Rock of Safety!

D. HUMPHREYS.

HUMPHREYSVILLE, June 22, 1813.

With the exception of the attack upon Stonington on August 9, 1814, there was no hostile force to repel, although the harbour of New London was blockaded by a British squadron.

The military operations were planned principally to make possible the conquest of Canada. With some notable exceptions, as the gallant defence of Fort McHenry, the battle of New Orleans, and a few other exploits, there was in them little of brilliancy or success.

The triumphs of the young nation were upon the ocean and the great lakes, where the exploits of Isaac Hull, Thomas McDonough, Oliver Perry, James Lawrence, Stephen Decatur, and other commanders, gave to the United States navy a name for daring and heroism throughout the world.

For his old friend Captain Hull, the Colonel had a great admiration and introduced into a town-meeting at Derby on April 12, 1813, a series of resolutions which were unanimously adopted:

Resolved, that Isaac Hull, Esq., a native of this town, captain in the Navy of the United States, and lately Commander of their Frigate Constitution, with the aid of his gallant officers and ship's company and the smiles of Providence, having led the van in the career of our naval glory by capturing His Britannic Majesty's Frigate Guerriere, commanded by Captain Dacres, has, in our opinion, deserved well of his country, and is an ornament to the place of his nativity.

Resolved, that joining cordially in the universal applause bestowed by our native countrymen on Hull, Jones, Decatur, Bainbridge, and Lawrence, and their brave and skilful associates in perils and triumphs, for their glorious naval achievements, we judge we have a right in our corporate capacity, without showing an undue partiality to the first named officer, or stepping aside from our municipal duties, to notice more explicitly his exemplary merits, from having better opportunities of being acquainted with them.

Resolved, that Messrs. John L. Tomlinson, William Humphreys, and Pearl Crafts, be a committee to collect and digest such distinguishing illustrative facts on the subject matter now before us as may be attainable, and that they will cause the result to be communicated to the public in such manner as they shall deem most proper.

Resolved, that from the interruption of our fisheries and navigation by war, gold and silver we have not, to offer costly demonstrations of respect and esteem in imitation of richer towns, yet what we have we freely give, to wit, a tribute of gratitude.

Therefore, voted that Isaac Hull, Esq., being already constitutionally entitled to the freedom of this corporation, the thanks of this town be presented to him in a box made of heart of oak, the genial growth of his native hills.

Voted, that the committee take order from the selectmen for the performance of this service and report their proceedings to a future meeting for the express purpose that a town record be made for the perpetual remembrance of these transactions.

Voted, that the committee above named be directed to transmit to Capt. Hull a certified copy of the foregoing resolutions.¹

Col. Humphreys served his native town in the House of Representatives of the State for five sessions from 1812 to 1814. These were the active years of the war, and while there is no complete chronicle of the debates in the House extant, we know that his military and diplomatic experience was drawn upon in shaping legislation upon military matters and the proper mode of defending the State.

His acquaintance with the leaders of public opinion in Connecticut and Massachusetts, and his habit of exactness in statement enabled him occasionally to give valuable information to the authorities at Washington both orally and by letter.

In this letter, written in the early months of the war, to the President, we observe the same care to put plainly the subject in hand as in his diplomatic correspondence.

BOSTON, February 19, 1813.

SIR,

Mr. Jacob Perkins of Newburyport will have the honour of delivering this letter into your hand. He is the author of several ingenious and useful inventions. As such I beg leave to introduce him; with the farther information, that the object of his journey is to obtain from Congress the renewal of a Patent about to expire, and that I have given him a Certificate expressive of my opinion of the great Service which he has rendered to the Community by introducing the Carding Ma-

¹ *History of Derby*, by J. L. Tomlinson, Clerk, pp. 300-302. Quoted on pp. 165, 166, *The Humphreys Family*.

chine; from which, I understood, he has derived no emolument. Altho' this fact may not be altogether sufficient to entitle him to favour on a different subject; yet it will show at least that he is one of our meritorious Citizens and not unworthy of such, as may be granted without the infringement of, or deviation from, the principles adopted for the conduct of the Patent Department.

The Evening preceding my departure from Washington, I intended to have waited on the President to receive his commands for the eastward (the perusal of whose correspondence with the heads of Depar^{tmts} on the war inconceivably beguiled the time). But the arrival of Dr. Logan at the Hotel where I lodged, and a long conversation with him, prevented the execution of that design.

I hoped the omission would not be imputed to a want of respect; and the rather as I had at a visit the day before, when I was informed the President was occupied in his Cabinet with the Sec^{ry} of State, apologized to M^{rs} Madison for not being able to profit of the polite invitation to dine.

It was the less my wish to trespass on your time by introducing political topics; since the Secretary of State, who had induced a conversation on them, had it in his power, if he judged expedient, to explain my ideas of our critical situation; and the best, if not the only means of extricating ourselves from it.

In our conference, as long ago as in the Month of July last, he could not have failed to comprehend my sentiments on our foreign Relations, and the policy which I conceived ought to be pursued to preserve the Union.

At the same time presenting the subject in another point of view, I stated the two only cases, by which, in my judgment, the States could be driven to separation, and subjected to the Evils consequent on such an event. These cases were 1st, an Alliance with France; and 2d, a systematic exclusion from Commerce.

I will not enter into a long detail of what has been so frequently urged, but come at once to what I judge the main point.

My belief is, No other Evils, of whatsoever magnitude would

be thought in this Section of the Union equal to those involved in either of these supposeable and dreaded occurences. Thus dreadfully paramount to every risk in estimation;—resort would be had to all means of avoidance. Other causes of dissatisfaction & complaint dwindle to next to nothing in comparison.

Convinced by the communications of Mr. Monroe to me, as well as from other circumstances, neither of these Events which would be fatal to the internal tranquillity & happiness of the Country can happen, I entertain less apprehension of the prospective Calamities so sincerely to be deprecated by all, than most of my friends with whom I have been accustomed generally to think & to act on political Subjects.

If their fears are groundless it is exceedingly to be lamented no more efficacious measures have been adopted for dissipating or allaying them.

Mr. Monroe will recollect that I said, if such is the policy of the Cabinet, why not proclaim it on the House tops?

Indeed some paragraphs of this tranquillizing nature appeared in the National Intelligencer at the time, when I was at Washington last Summer—These began to have no inconsiderable effect. Had assurances of such impartial & just sentiments with regard to the two great belligerent Powers of Europe as were then attributed to Government, been uninterruptedly continued, corroborated by consequent proceedings, very different *Dispositions & feelings* would in my opinion, have been manifested from those which now prevail in this part of the U. S.

During my last conference with Mr. Monroe, in estimating the difficulties with which our national affairs are surrounded & deplored the mischievous effects of Party in this & every free Country, I still expressed a Hope, that on a fair trial of the pacific measures then in contemplation, the great reserve of Good Sense & good Dispositions in both the countries, now in hostility, would be called forth, with such amity of sentiment & voice, as to induce a speedy Pacification.

Happily the breach is narrowed since the commencement of the war. This is an unusual fact & affords a favorable

ground to improve. Fewer irritations have occurred than might have been anticipated.

Advantages have been reciprocally obtained on the Element where they were least to be expected.

Our disasters on land have been counterbalanced by our successes at Sea.

Could the Project for excluding the subjects & Citizens of each of the Powers from employment in the commercial or national Marine of the other, be adjusted by fair stipulations & enforced by the best legal sanctions that can be devised, it appears to me, all the embarrassments will be removed.

A Peace concluded with England on honorable & just conditions, so as to make it lasting would leave us in a better condition to prosecute our just claims on France for spoliations unless previously settled; and especially to crush the piratical Navy of Algiers; that this Triumph which we are destined one day to obtain, & by which we shall be elevated in the view of the civilized World more than by any other achievement may be accomplished under your Presidency is the sincere & ardent wish of your Mo ob Servt,

D. HUMPHREYS—

P. S. It will be perceived this was intended to have been forwarded by Mr. Perkins, which will account for its arriving so long after its date.¹

This plain statement, Colonel Humphreys followed by a letter to the Secretary of State in which the attitude of the New England Federalists to the war is given:

BOSTON March 2d, 1813.

DEAR SIR,

Altho' there is little of a political nature, and, I fear not much on other topics very interesting to you; yet I think, it not improper to enclose my correspondence with England.

Some of the facts of reasoning of Sir Joseph Banks with

¹ U. S. Archives, State Dept., Washington, D. C.

regard to the supply of raw material for manufacture & Bread-stuff for their increasing Population, coming from so respectable a source, I judge, might not be unacceptable to the President.

The *other Manuscript* would have been sent sooner, while the subject was pending before Congress, but for accidental disappointment of an intended conveyance. It comes from a public Character; who may be considered perhaps, as much as any one, the organ of the Sentiment & Feelings of the Federalists in New England. He, I am persuaded, wishes as that description of Men generally does, for Peace on *honorable just & safe terms alone* & such, as would undoubtedly meet the President's approbation.

They would submit to no sacrifice of rights or honour. To me, however, there appear to exist on every side, such strange & unaccountable imputations, as to make me tremble for the future. At least, this fatality, for I can call it by no other Name, causes me to dread, lest we as a People should be permitted by Providence to proceed to the last Extremities, before we shall have gone far enough in the wrong to be made to return to the right. I wish to Heaven my apprehensions may be groundless.

I have conversed with the Chief Magistrates of Massachusetts & Connecticut, as well as with many other influential Persons, in & out of Office, since my return from the Seat of Government on the terms & prospect of Peace.

They have small expectations of its being near at hand. They do think, that, while the British Government is now sincerely disposed, our own is equally adverse, to agree to reasonable conditions.

I must state that I have scarcely been present, where there was an exception.

In stating this universality of Sentiment, you know me too well to accuse me, in your mind, of an intention to excite unpleasant emotions or promote hasty views by exaggerations. You know, on the contrary, that I am equally incapable of suppressing or disguising the Truth, when I judge the naked disclosure to be imperiously called for by the voice of my Country.

To convince the great Body of the People in this Section of the Union, by more than words, that the imputation of aversion to peace on the part of our Government, has been founded in mistake, is of vital importance to the Union; such is my belief, or I should not have written with so much freedom.

I forbear to repeat what I advanced orally as to the Policy, which, in my judgment, ought to be pursued; and which must produce the predicted Alternative, *either an immediate Peace*, or such a junction of moral & physical force in the prosecution of the War as cannot fail, in a short time to bring it to "that Consummation so devoutly to be wished."

Any insincere, dubious or half way Policy would be ruin, in such, an incredulous & irritable state of the public mind.

Looking at the great Events in the North of Europe, and contemplating the tenor of the Prince Regent's Manifesto since those Events were known in England, in combination with what I know to be your Sentiments, I will continue to cherish better hopes. I expect to be at Humphreysville in three or four days from this date—where in tranquil obscurity, I have a consciousness of being able to promote our agricultural & manufacturing interests; & more especially the cause of Morality as connected with the latter.

I have the honour to be
With sentiments of great respect
Your Mo obed Servt,
D. HUMPHREYS—

The HON. JAMES MONROE,
Sec'y of State, &c., &c.

Should this reach your hands safe I shall be glad to learn it.¹

The criticisms of our Colonel in the letter which follows are confirmed by all who have written upon the naval actions of the war. The enclosure was evidently a plan drawn up by Col. Humphreys for some decisive action by the American fleet which should compel Great Britain to ask for peace. It will be remembered that while at Lisbon,

¹ U. S. Archives, State Dept., Washington, D. C.

Col. Humphreys urged the formation of a navy, enforcing his considerations with the aphorism: "if we are to have a foreign commerce we must have a navy to protect it."

The enclosure may have contained some details concerning an expedition against Algiers and the other Barbary States whose arrogance and gross violations of the stipulations of the treaty of 1795 had been constantly increasing. No published documents or letters of President Madison's administration contain any suggestion of an Algerine war. If none are extant, the honour of having proposed such a destination for an American squadron remains with Col. Humphreys. All readers of our history know that five days after the announcement that the treaty of peace with Great Britain had been signed at Ghent on December 24, 1814, the President proposed to Congress a proclamation of war against Algiers, which was promptly made on March 2, 1815.

The rapidity of the movements of Commodore Decatur and his small fleet surprised and gratified all Americans. He appeared before the port of Algiers on June 28, 1815, and allowing no time for negotiations, he demanded the instant surrender of American captives and the immediate signing by the Dey of a treaty already prepared, by which tribute was abolished and American commerce freed from his depredations. Then, as twenty years before, America showed her determination, and made possible the final abolition of tribute and the humbling of the pirates of the Mediterranean.¹

HUMPHREYSVILLE, March 20th 1813.

SIR,

The formidable British fleet, now on this Station, could not have been more ill contrived than it is, for the purposes de-

¹ *Stephen Decatur*, by Cyrus Townsend Brady, in *Beacon Biographies*, Boston, Small, Maynard & Co., 1900, pp. 108-118; also *Making of the Nation*, p. 248.

signed. The frigates are unable to contend singly with ours, without being made to feel their inferiority in more than one article. The Ships of the Line, too heavy & clumsy for pursuit from their bulk & construction, & under the disadvantage of having been a considerable time at Sea, will be outsailed by our armed vessels, fresh from Port & in the best trim for sailing. Therefore, there can be little danger of loss on our part by capture. On this basis was formed the calculation contained in the enclosed Paper . . . which it will be perceived was written about the time when Sir John B. Warren left the Capes of Virginia.

The change of circumstances, from the augmentation of force, by late arrivals, induces no material change in enhancing the danger, so as to prevent our Ships from proceeding to Sea, when ready.

It is reported, that the Dragon, a ship of the Line, has been injured in her masts, & is about to go to Halifax for repairs. How fortunate it would have been, if two or three of our frigates could have fallen in with this 74, in this predicament?

A consideration of not only the possibility, but even the great probability of such rencontres, is one of the principal inducements for my placing before you this Inclosure.

After hesitating on the propriety & expediency as they might strike your view; recollecting that I should certainly have submitted the Paper in question to the inspection of the President first, I concluded to put it into the Post Office with my own hand, and shall be consequently ascertained, one day, whether it will have miscarried or no.

In case of a speedy Pacification, which God grant may be accomplished on honourable & safe conditions; what a glorious opportunity will be presented for aiming an effectual blow at Algiers & overthrowing that viperous pest of haughty & contemptible Pirates? It will prove to be one of the proudest achievements & one of the most memorable & popular exploits, that it is possible should be effected in our times. Already the feelings & devout aspirations of Humanity in the old as well as in the new World, are all enlisted on our side. There is none to resist or gainsay. To say, that the great trading

& maritime Powers would raise obstacles, is, in my opinion, a gratuitous & unfounded assertion. The nations will be the favorable umpire. Success can hardly be doubtful; and who will be hardy enough to question its popularity?

Such a price for purchasing advantage & renown, at so easy a rate, has rarely if ever before, been put into the hand of any man.

I hope to be at the Seat of Government in the course of the Spring & to profit of the occasion to offer the homage of high respect, with which I have the honour to be

Your Mo ob & mo hble Servt,
D. HUMPHREYS—¹

The reply of the President to the letter of February 19 is dignified and answers with moderation the arguments and assertions of New England Federalists:

WASHINGTON, Mar. 23, 1813.

DEAR SIR,

I have rec^d your letter of the 19th Ult Mr. Perkins who was to have been the bearer, has not as yet arrived, unless, as is possible he may have done so, and had his communications with the Patent Office, without my knowing it.

Altho' it is rather unusual nor often eligible, to enter into political explanations on such an occasion, as the present, I am induced by the frank and friendly tenor of your remarks to express (under the reserves which you will infer) my regret that you should be able to cite a prevailing opinion that "an alliance with France, and a systematic exclusion of Commerce" were within the views of the Administration.

To say nothing of the extreme improbability of such a policy—on the first point, it is not easy to conceive a more formal disavowal of it (which) I know has been repeatedly made & published both by my predecessor & myself, particularly in the passages relating to the war, which emphatically impugn political alliances or connections with any foreign power.

¹ U. S. Archives, State Dept., Washington, D. C.

In full conformity with his disavowals, is a letter from Mr. Barlow to Mr. Monroe lately published from which it must be necessarily inferred that he was forbidden to enter into any arrangements with France beyond the subjects of indemnity to commerce.

With such strong presumptions & decisive proofs before the public it is impossible that a purpose in this Government of allying itself with that of France, can be seriously believed by any intelligent individual not in a temper to reject a witness even from the dead.

As to the systematic exclusion of commerce, a belief of it is still more incomprehensible. Temporary abridgements or suspensions of it, must have for their object its permanent freedom, as interruptions of peace, have for their object a re-establishment of peace on improved foundations. In such a light only can the restrictive measures applied to our commerce, be rationally owned. The avowed object of them in fact, was to liberate our commerce from foreign restrictions equally obnoxious to all parties. Whether the means were well applied or not, may be made a question. The object itself never can. How is it possible that any man in his senses should attempt or wish to annihilate the foreign commerce of such a Country as this; or grant such a policy should be supported by that portion of the Country which thinks itself, as much more interested in commerce than the other portion, as the Cargoes of ships are more valuable than their freight?

Viewing the topics which have so much agitated the public mind, in the light here presented, I have never allowed myself to believe that the Union was in danger, or that a dissolution of it could be desired, unless by a few individuals, if such there be, in desperate situations or of unbridled passions. In addition to the thousand difficulties belonging to every part of the nation, every part has an interest as deep as it is obvious, in maintaining the bond which keeps the whole together; and the Eastern part certainly not less than any other. Looking to the immediate & *commercial* effect of a dissolution, it is clear that the Eastern part would be the greatest loser, by such an event; and not likely, therefore, deliberately to rush into

it;—especially when it takes into view the groundlessness of the suspicions which alone could suggest so dreadful an alternative; and the turn which would probably grow out of it, to the relations with Europe. The great road of profitable intercourse for New England even with Old England, lies through the Wheat, the Cotton & the Tobacco fields of her Southern & Western Confederates, on what basis W. E. O. E. from commercial stipulations, on all the great articles they would be in direct rivalship. The real source of revolution was the commercial jealousy of G. B. towards that part of her near Colonies. If links of common interest between the two Countries, they will connect the S. & not the N. States, with that part of Europe, Accept my friendly respects,

J. M.

I this moment receive your favor of the 20th with the paper headed "Navy."

COL. HUMPHREYS—¹

The dissatisfaction of New England with the continuance of the war found indignant expression in editorials and letters in the newspapers of Hartford, New Haven, Boston, and other cities and towns.

Formal protests were made by many Massachusetts towns which sent memorials to "the Great and General Court," praying that they might be protected in their natural and constitutional rights. Several of these memorials suggested a convention of delegates of the New England States to consider the distress and grievances of the commercial States and devise measures for their relief. While no open declaration of a desire to dissolve the Union was made by any responsible person, there were many utterances in periodicals, sermons, and speeches which thinly veiled such an inclination. These gave great anxiety to those conservative Federalists who, like Col.

¹ U. S. Archives, State Dept., Washington, D. C.

Humphreys, were true lovers of the Union and firm believers in the necessity of maintaining it.

When the Legislature of Massachusetts had been convened in special session in October, 1814, the Governor, the Hon. Caleb Strong, who had been a member of the Convention which formed the United States Constitution, in his message was very severe in his criticism of the administration and its conduct of the war.

A committee of the Senate to which had been referred the message and the memorial from the several towns presented a long report through its chairman, the Hon. Harrison Gray Otis, of Boston.

This document examines in detail the course of political events from the commencement of President Jefferson's administration, analyzes the causes for the grievances complained of, and inveighs with bitter sarcasm against those who, in the opinion of the committee, brought on an unjustifiable war and had grossly perverted the machinery of the government to their own selfish purposes.

It is, therefore, with great concern that your Committee are obliged to declare their conviction that the Constitution of the United States, under the administration of the persons in power, has failed to secure to the Commonwealth, and as they believe to the eastern section of the Union those equal rights and benefits, which were the object of its formation, and which they cannot relinquish without ruin to themselves and posterity. These grievances justify, and require, vigorous, persevering, and peaceful exertions to unite those who realize their sufferings and foresee the dangers of the Country in some system of measures to obtain relief, for which the ordinary mode of procuring amendments to the Constitution affords no reasonable expectation, in season to prevent the completion of its ruin.

The report proposed as a preliminary to a convention

of all the United States for the amendment of the Constitution, that

a conference should be invited between those States the affinity of whose interests is closest, and whose habits of intercourse, from their situation and other causes are most frequent; to the end that by comparison of their sentiments and views, some mode of defence, suited to the circumstances and exigencies of those States, and measures for accelerating the return of public prosperity may be devised.¹

The committee embodied their recommendations in resolutions which were adopted by a large majority of both Houses. The Houses, in joint convention on October 18, 1814, elected twelve delegates to such a conference.²

On October 17, 1814, the resolutions were sent to the "Executive Magistrates" of the other New England States accompanied by a letter, signed by the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House, explaining the objects of the conference. They are careful to state that the proceedings of the proposed conference on the part of its members were to be "not repugnant to their obligations as members of the Union." The Connecticut General Assembly then in session acted promptly and elected six delegates.³

Four delegates were chosen by the General Assembly of Rhode Island which was also in session.⁴

No State action was taken in New Hampshire or Ver-

¹ Report of Mr. Otis to the Legislature of Massachusetts, as quoted on pp. 88, 89, *Democracy in the United States*, by Ransom H. Gillett, New York, D. Appleton & Co., 1868.

² George Cabot, Nathan ———, William Prescott, Harrison Gray Otis, Timothy Bigelow, Joshua Thomas, Samuel Sumner Wilde, Joseph Lyman, George Bliss, Stephen Longfellow, Jun., Daniel Waldo, Hodijah Baylies.

³ Chauncey Goodrich, John Treadwell, James Hillhouse, Zephaniah Swift, Calvin Goddard, Roger Minot Sherman.

⁴ Daniel Lyman, Samuel Ward, Edward Manton, Benjamin Hazard.

iont. The counties of Grafton and Cheshire in New Hampshire held conventions and elected a delegate.

The county of Windham in Vermont at a convention chose a representative to the conference.

All these delegates were men bearing the fairest reputation in their own States and acknowledged leaders of public opinion. They were sincere in their conviction that the course they had adopted was the only one that could restore prosperity to New England and preserve the Union.

The conference met in the city of Hartford, Connecticut, on December 15, 1814, in the Council Chamber of the State House.

It is traditional that the Rev. Philander Chase, Rector of Christ Church, afterward Bishop of Ohio, who always had the courage of his convictions, when asked to open the Assemblage with prayer, replied, in his frank and blunt way, that he knew no prayer for rebellion.

But as he afterward officiated at several of the sessions of the conference, he must have changed his opinion as to the character of the gathering. It is also said that a military band then in Hartford frequently marched around the buildings in which the sessions were held, playing "the Rogues' March."

The Hon. George Cabot, of Boston, was chosen President, and Mr. Theodore Dwight of Hartford, Secretary. The deliberations were held behind closed doors and every member was pledged to secrecy.

By the administration press and its supporters the delegates were termed traitors and their proceedings styled reasonable. No abuse was too foul to be heaped upon them. The large body of Federalists throughout New England and those in other parts of the Union watched eagerly for such information as was allowed to be published, and the Federalist press was filled with vindica-

tions of their patriotic course. The delegates were in session for three weeks, finally adjourning on Thursday, January 5.

A report, drawn up by a committee of seven,¹ was published. In it the course of aggression upon the rights of the people by the administration from 1801, the theory of the Federal Constitution, and the adjusting of Federal and State rights were considered. The abuses complained of were detailed, and the possibility of a dissolution of the Union owing "to the multiplied abuses of bad administrations" was considered. But such an act should be "the work of peaceable times and deliberate consent." The undefended condition in which New England had been left, the need of defence should war continue, and the heavy burden of taxation which it would entail if attempted by the State authorities was treated at great length. Eight specifications were given of maladministration and the amendments proposed to the Constitution of the United States explained. The first based Congressional representation on the number of free persons in any State; the second required a two thirds vote of both Houses for the admission of any new State; the third prohibited Congress from declaring an embargo upon the ships or vessels of citizens of the United States in home ports for more than sixty days; the fourth made it unlawful to interdict commercial intercourse with any foreign nation except by a two thirds vote of both Houses of Congress; the fifth required the consent of two thirds of both Houses to declare war or commence hostilities against any foreign power; the sixth excluded naturalized persons from Congress or civil office; the seventh limited the presidency to a single term for any incumbent and prohibited the choice of a President for two terms in succession from the same State.

¹ Mr. Otis, Mr. Smith, Mr. Sherman, Mr. Dane, Mr. Prescott, Mr. West, and Mr. Hazard.

The report concluded with an allusion to the peace negotiations which were then proceeding at Ghent, "the issue of which must be deeply interesting to all." They are exhorted "to pause and consider the awful state to which pernicious counsels and blind passions have brought his people." The aid of those who were willing "to trace errors" was sought to "place the Constitution under guardians who alone can save it from destruction."

The report closes with these impressive words:

Should this fortunate change be effected, the hope of happiness and honour may once more dispel the surrounding gloom. Our Nation may yet be great, our Union durable. But should his prospect be utterly hopeless the time will not have been lost which shall have ripened a general sentiment of the necessity of more mighty efforts to rescue from ruin, at least some portion of our beloved country.

Five resolutions set forth the conclusions of the report. The first requested concert of action by the States to have an equitable proportion of the Federal taxes assigned to each State for local defences. The second recommended the formation of voluntary corps of State troops. The third recommended the amendments proposed to the Constitution for adoption by the State Legislatures who should unite in calling a constitutional convention. The proposed amendments in brief form were made a part of the resolution. The fourth provided, should the application for money for land defences be unsuccessful, peace not be concluded, and the defence of these States be neglected, "delegates should be chosen to meet in Convention at Boston the third Thursday of June next." The Hon. George Cabot, the Hon. Chauncey Goodrich, and the Hon. Daniel Lyman were authorized by the fifth to call another meeting of the present delegates.

When the publications allowed by the Hartford Convention were made, they were received with scorn and indignation, or applause, according to the political opinions of those who read them. As the Federalist party was in every other part of the Union except New England in a very small minority, indignation prevailed and the name of Federalist became almost synonymous with traitor. The announcement on February 11, 1815, that the treaty of peace with England had been signed on December 24, 1814, made its proposals lose their practical utility.

The convention was the death blow to the Federal party, and everyone who was concerned in it was, as far as Democratic influence could extend, deprived of any further political preferment. It is said to have been "the blighting of many a fair and promising career."

The warnings given by Col. Humphreys and others who retained the confidence of the administration had, as we have seen, been unheeded. There was a disinclination to make any explicit declaration or to conciliate the embittered merchants and influential men in New England.

This is shown in the lofty tone of superiority and conscious rectitude adopted by President Madison in his letter of March 23, 1813.

The events dreaded by the conservative element of New England happened. The merciful providence of a peace prevented bloodshed, and a possible dissolution of the Union.¹

¹ The principal authority upon the Hartford Convention is: *History of the Hartford Convention with a Review of the Policy of the United States Government, which Led to the War of 1812*, by Theodore Dwight, Secretary of the Convention. Published by N. & J. White, New York, and Russell, Odiorne & Co., Boston, D. Fanshaw, Printer, 1833. See also: Gillett's *Democracy in America*, pp. 85-94; Smith's *History of Pittsfield*, pp. 227, 228, 229, 250, 257; Walker's *Making of the Nation*, pp. 244-247.

CHAPTER XX

Last Days of Humphreys

Financial Depression Consequent on Close of the War—Humphreys Urges Necessity of a Tariff—The Woollen Industry in Connecticut—Protective Tariff Passed in 1816—Humphreys' Last Letter to President Madison—Humphreysville Intended by its Founder as an Object Lesson—Description of Humphreysville by Dr. Dwight—Name Changed to Seymour—Formation by Humphreys of the Agricultural Society in Connecticut—His Discourse before the Society—*The Farmers' Harvest Hymn*—The Sea Serpent—Humphreys' Letters on the Subject—His Last Illness and Sudden Death—Contemporary Description of Humphreys' Appearance—Miniature by Malbone—Portrait by Stuart.

THE war was followed by a period of financial depression which seriously affected manufactures in New England and throughout the country.

Wool, which had become a staple article in many States, fell below its actual value. The prices of sheep declined so rapidly that many persons were ruined. Fine cloth which had been held at eighteen dollars a yard could not be sold for one half that amount. The condition of affairs and the large increase in the production of cotton in the Southern States induced an agitation for the protection of home industries.

The supporters of a tariff urged that the United States must secure an adequate supply of articles necessary for life and natural defence; the needs of agriculture were to be considered as furnishing the materials for manufacture;

the manufactures had been developed by the exigencies of the embargo and the war, and therefore should be fostered and encouraged, and not allowed to be destroyed by foreign competition.

While Col. Humphreys had felt strongly the need of some such action on the part of Congress, and had, as he notes in his letters, consulted with the friends of American manufactures previous to the war, he seems to have allowed younger men to carry on the campaign for it at Washington at this time. The interests of the Connecticut manufactures were entrusted to Mr. Andrew W. Magill and Mr. William Young.

There were at that time twenty-five mills in Connecticut, employing twelve hundred persons directly and many more indirectly. The capital invested was four hundred and fifty thousand dollars. Seventy-five thousand yards of narrow cloth and twenty-five thousand yards of broad cloth were manufactured annually. It was estimated that at least five hundred thousand yards of cloth were made in private families. There were only four mills in the country which made fine cloth; of these, that at Humphreysville was considered the best. The demand for a protective tariff was successful. It secured the powerful advocacy of Henry Clay, who then commenced his long and consistent course in favour of the protection of home industries, or "the American system," as it came to be called.

The duties imposed by the tariff of 1816 upon foreign goods ranged from twenty to thirty-five per cent.

The last letter written by Col. Humphreys to President Madison is a brief note of introduction:

NEW HAVEN, March 5th, 1816.

SIR,

I take the liberty of introducing Mr. Pollard, of Boston, a gentleman of considerable literary taste & acquirements, who

is travelling for the first time as far South as the City of Washington. His object is to see the Country & become somewhat more acquainted with its inhabitants. Your pardoning this liberty is the rather to be hoped for, from a consideration of my not having before transgressed on your time in this way; as well as from a reluctance to abuse your indulgence, in future.

My best respects are tendered to Mrs. Madison, with the assurances of the sentiments of high consideration & esteem, with which,

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your mo obd & very humble Servt,

D. HUMPHREYS.¹

In engaging in manufacturing, Col. Humphreys' primary idea was to make new sources of livelihood for his native town and State. He thought the government should aid him in this attempt. This idea is latent in several of his letters in this Memoir. It was more fully developed in others not now available, and also in conversations and arguments with officials at Washington and men in public life. His institution at Humphreysville was an object lesson for the American public; and the manner in which it was conducted showed that his design was much broader than making wealth for himself.

The observations of his old friend and associate, Dr. Dwight, then President of Yale College, give an attractive picture of the works at this time. They were made in the course of one of the tours through New England that he has described so pleasantly in his *Travels*.

Within the limits, four miles and a half from the mouth of the Naugatuc, is a settlement named by the Legislature Humphreysville from the Hon. David Humphreys, formerly minister plenipotentiary at the Court of Madrid. At this place a ridge of rocks twenty feet in height crosses the river and

¹ U. S. Archives, State Dept., Washington, D. C.

forms a perfect dam about two-thirds of the distance. The remaining third is closed by an artificial dam. The stream is so large as to furnish an abundance of water at all times for any works which will probably ever be erected on the spot. Those already existing are a grist mill, a saw mill, a paper mill, a woollen manufactory and a cotton manufactory with all their proper appendages, and a considerable number of other buildings, destined to be the residence of the manufacturers, and for other purposes. A strong current of water in a channel cut through the rock on the eastern side sets in motion all the machinery employed in these buildings. By this current are moved the grist mill, two newly invented shearing machines, a breaker and finisher for carding sheep's wool, a machine for making ravelings, two jennies for spinning sheep's wool under the roof of the grist mill, the works in the paper mill, a picker, two more carding machines for sheep's wool, and a billy with forty spindles in a third building, a fulling mill, a saw mill employed to cut the square timber, boards, lath, &c. for the different edifices and to shape many of the wooden materials for the machinery, two more fulling mills on improved principles immediately connected with the clothing shop, and the various machinery in a cotton manufactory,—a building about one hundred feet long, thirty-six wide and of four stories, capable of containing two thousand spindles, with all their necessary apparatus. The houses can accommodate with a comfortable residence about one hundred and fifty persons. Ten others in the neighborhood will furnish residence for upwards of one hundred and fifty more. Gardens on a beautiful plat in the rear of the manufactories furnish all the vegetables necessary for the establishment. The institution contains four broad and eight narrow looms and eighteen stocking frames.

The principal part of the labor in attending the machinery in the cotton and woollen manufactories is done by women and children; the former are hired at from fifty cents to one dollar per week; the latter apprentices who are regularly instructed in reading, writing and arithmetic. The wages of the men are from five to twenty-one dollars per month. In

Europe great complaints have been made of manufacturing establishments as having been commonly seats of vice and disease. General Humphreys began this with a determination, either to prevent these evils, or if this could not be done, to give up the design. With regard to the health of his people it is sufficient to observe that from the year 1804 to the year 1810 not an individual belonging to the institution died, and it is believed that among no other equal number of persons has there been less disease. With respect to vice it may be remarked that every person who is discovered to be openly immoral is discharged.

At the commencement of the institution discreet parents were reluctant to place their children in it from unfavorable apprehensions concerning the tendency of such establishments. Since that time they have been offered in more than sufficient numbers. In 1813 the legislature at the instance of General Humphreys passed a law constituting the selectmen and magistracy of the several towns in which manufactories have been or should be established, visitors of these institutions. This law required the proprietors to control in a manner specified, the morals of all their workmen, and to educate their children, as other children in plain families throughout the state are educated. The visitors were directed to inquire annually into the manner in which the proprietors conformed to this law. The reports of the visitors in Derby concerning the establishment at Humphreysville have been in a high degree honourable, both to the proprietor and his people. The manufactures at Humphreysville are esteemed excellent; the best broad cloth made here is considered as inferior to none which is imported.

None but Americans are employed in this institution. Americans make all the machinery and have invented several kinds of machines which are considered as superior to such as have been devised in Europe for the same purposes.

In this manufactory he has, I think, fairly established three points of great importance; one is, that these manufactures can be carried on with success; another, that the workmen can be preserved in as good health as that enjoyed by any other

class of men in the country; and third, that the deterioration of morals in such institutions, which is so often complained of, is not necessary but incidental; not inherent in the institution itself, but the fault of the proprietor.¹

This establishment and certain educational projects Col. Humphreys was entertaining are the subject of the following letter to James Monroe, then Madison's Secretary of State.

BOSTON, May 16th, 1816.

MY DEAR SIR:

You will perceive by the place where and the time when *this* is dated, my return from Washington to my family has been more expeditious than I expected.

My short stay in Philadelphia prevented me from writing, as I had intended, to mention my neglect, at our last interview, to enquire farther as to the *fate* of the Dyes, which were executed at Paris under my direction, and concerning which you had the goodness to take a Memorandum. Having been assisted by the advice of the learned & celebrated Abbe Bartholome in the Inscriptions & Devices; and having employed M. Chevillet, the first Engraver of Louis the 16th, in cutting the Dyes to strike the Medals presented by Congress to Washington, Gates & Greene, it is apprehended, that few if any others have been designed in a more classical style, engraved in a superior manner or are more worthy of being preserved as model specimens of taste & skill in this branch of the fine arts. To this claim to merit, may be superadded that of their being so well calculated to perpetuate the remembrance of some of the most remarkable and splendid achievements, which signalized the war for our Independence. It seems then to

¹ *Register of the Vermont Merino Breeders Association*, pp. 34, 35, 36. In the year 1850, some politicians to curry favour with Governor Seymour passed by the slim majority of three an act to change the name of the town to Seymour, and Mr. Seymour had the bad taste not to veto the bill, as Connecticut men in general expected he would.

be a desirable object, that copies might be multiplied hereafter, in substances of inferior value, even if those in the precious metals could not conveniently be supplied, in sufficient numbers to satisfy the public desire for them. After all the attention & pains which have been bestowed & the models of taste and skill so worthy of the Heroes they were intended to illustrate have been produced, it would doubtless afford some satisfaction to a future Age to have a specific & accurate memorial of the transaction preserved in the American Antiquarian Society; of which I am the more bound to promote the objects, from having the honour of being one of its Associates and Counsellors. Should you find it convenient to drop a line in the Post Office, addressed to me at New Haven, it will undoubtedly be received, as I propose in a few days to return to my *Establishment* in that Vicinity.

While my pen is in hand, I avail myself of the vacant paper, to bring to your recollection a hint, which I slightly suggested, respecting that *Establishment*, as being, in my judgment, one of the most eligible *Sites* in the U. S. to found an Institution for extending the benefits of a Military & manufacturing Education to the Orphan or other poor children of Soldiers or other Citizens, at the least possible expense to the Public, &, perhaps, with the greatest possible advantages; at the same time that the national Government is so judiciously paying attention to Academies & Institutions more peculiarly adapted to the Education of the Sons of the more wealthy part of the Community.

A plan might be formed, apparently with a prospect of success, somewhat on the principles of Christ's Hospital, in London, omitting the antiquated habits & forms, more enlarged in its views as to the purposes & uses of education for common life, possessing more nationality & civism, if I may be allowed the expressions, and vastly improved by the more modern processes of Instruction as reduced to practice by Fellenberg, Lancaster, Neef & other able men, who have made the subject of education their particular study; a study which has engaged the attention of some of the best & most particular Characters

in all civilized Countries. If in any thing, I have had an opportunity of being useful to my Country, perhaps I may indulge a consciousness of having been more so by setting an example of educating youths at the Humphreysville Establishment, than in any other way. A *Volume* could not explain the progress of the experiment, or the extent of my ideas of its usefulness. Do not take the alarm. I promise to spare your patience for the present, by not swelling *this letter* to *that size*. Invidious & ungrateful as the Taste may be, I do not however compromise myself by making any capitulations with the Public, to abstain from the undertaking, if I imagine good will result from it. Regardless of the imputation of vanity, unawed by the fear of criticism & animated by a sense of the importance of the subject to a future, if not to the present generation, I may possibly have the temerity to lay this last offering of patriotism & duty on the altar of my Country.

I had prepared communications on subjects connected with my Establishment, as well as with national Education & political Economy, for the President & some of the Heads of Departments, in the month of Jany. last. On maturer reflection, I did not transmit them at the time, because I knew how much the Executive Government must have been occupied on other indispensable business, & because I believed the period had not arrived, at which they might be brought with advantage under public consideration. One day or another, they may see the light.

In the meantime, a Project of Education, which, I am persuaded, may hereafter be found practicable, important & popular, is enclosed. Possibly it may not be thought so now, nor be calculated to take effect in our time. Yet I see no insurmountable obstacle, where so little expense is required. In all cases, I shall not regret my having employed some of my leisure hours, in collecting and digesting for a future day, facts & documents, which it may not have fallen to the lot of all my countrymen to possess.

On another subject, I flatter myself, you will not forget the parting words of "remember" & "I will." To which I will

only add the assurances of the great consideration & esteem with which, I remain

Yr mo. ob. & mo. hble Servt
D. HUMPHREYS.

Hon. JAS MONROE.

The formation of the Agricultural Society in Connecticut grew out of Col. Humphreys' desire to make more profitable the farming in the State. He saw that old methods must yield to new; and while he could not anticipate the day of labour-saving machinery upon the farm, he was solicitous that every farmer should be instructed in the rudiments of agriculture, and believed that one good method was by farmers' meetings.

When the Society of which he became President was organized, he entered vigorously upon his duties and sought from every source available information which could be of use to Connecticut farmers.

At the Annual Meeting held on Thursday, September 12, 1816, he delivered an inaugural address. In it he considered the benefits of agricultural enterprise, advised the keeping of sheep and raising of crops in rotation, spoke of the delights of a farmer's life, and then considered how regular systematic study of soils, of grains and roots would be of essential benefit to every farmer. He mentioned his plan for a model farm, where under experienced men, boys could be taught farming. His is one of the earliest, if not the very first proposition for an agricultural college to be supported by the State. In the course of his address he used the term "sled it out," upon which he has this amusing note:

The Americans of the United States have been accused not only of the crime of having coined new words, but also of having forged, changed and altered nouns into verbs; as *per*

example, “an advocate” “to advocate,” &c., &c. In the present instance the writer confesses for himself and fellow culprits the charge and throws himself upon the mercy of the Court, hoping thereby to extenuate the penalty decreed against coiners, clippers, counterfeiters and alterers of the current words of the realm of Gt. Britain, as established by critical law of the United States, in such case made and provided—whereof the next learned reporter of the English language as used in the United States, in specifying the breaches of the said statute is expected to take due notice accordingly.¹

In conclusion he says:

My indulgent hearers, most of you have never heard the sound of my voice before, and probably never will hereafter. A long, a solemn pause will soon ensue, where many met we part to meet no more.

The few surviving actors from the stage of the Revolutionary war will become daily more and more scarce. We leave this scene not for a tittering generation who wish to push us from it, but for those who, we hope, will act their parts much better in peaceful improvements.

Long may you enjoy the fruits of our labours! It is for you to judge whether at my time of life, and circumstanced as I am, what has been said was the result of enthusiastic ardour or patriotic zeal. My soul is earnestly engaged in the success of the measures which have been proposed.

Pardon me, if my sensations and views of what to me appears so highly interesting to the good of the State should not be in exact accord with your own.

Forgive the warmth of an old citizen soldier who has passed many a toilsome, perilous day, many a sleepless, anxious night, that others surrounded by all the fruition of plenty, might repose securely and sweetly on the lap of Peace. I feel my subject perhaps too forcibly. Too feeble are my expressions to do justice to my feelings. I come not here to play the orator, nor

¹ *A Discourse upon Agriculture*, note, p. 25. New Haven: Printed by T. G. Woodward, 1816.

must my want of faculties to win men's golden opinions, continue to beggar my subject by poverty of argument. More with a view of inducing others to entertain the public annually on this day with discourses on agriculture, than with a belief that mine will be of much avail and still more from respect to the request of the Society than from any other motive, I have been prevailed on, to plead the cause so dear to all our hearts.

Henceforth I may be silent.¹

This was the last public utterance of the Colonel. When the discourse was published, it contained the last poem he had written. In thought and vigour it may be compared with those composed early in his life:

THE FARMERS' HARVEST HYMN

Rise! All who venerate the plough,
Before the Lord of Harvests bow,
With thanks his grace implore;
Who taste the life sustaining food.
Him first, him last, supremely good,
Acknowledge and adore.

Though the Sea Lion roar and chafe,
Beneath th' Almighty buckler safe,
Our coast with plenty crown'd;
See golden grain our garners fill,
With mercies judgments temper'd still
God's goodness knows no bounds.

Hail, Tillage! Heaven-commended task
When earth was cursed—thy aid we ask
The sickly glebe to nurse:
No more let sadden'd nature pine,
Thy hallow'd influence, next divine,
Come half redeem the curse.

¹ *A Discourse, &c.*, pp. 38-41.

Thou soul of Peace: thou nerve of war:
 Again thy gifts to regions far,
 Shall float, on canvas wings:
 Empires and Realms and States conspire
 To hymn, for Peace, Heaven's holy sire,
 And bless the King of Kings

For soon shall cease the deathful strife,
 All nations hear *the word of life*
 While peaceful sails unfurled
 Speed Heaven's own Heralds (blest employ)
 To sound glad tidings of great joy
 Through all the peopled world.

For this shall Europe's thrones and powers
 Unite their glorious toils with ours
 Millennial songs to raise.
 O haste, Most High: the happy time
 When peace shall reign, and every clime
 Be vocal in thy praise.

This hymn was composed for an annual Thanksgiving Day in autumn, at the time when General Humphreys commanded in chief a respectable corps of organized Volunteers, raised for the defence of the country during the late war.¹

The remainder of his life was spent by Colonel Humphreys at his pleasant home in Boston, where he and Madam Humphreys dispensed an elegant and generous hospitality amid the society of eminent and congenial friends.

A portion of the summer of 1817 was passed at Gloucester, near Cape Ann. He was greatly interested in the reports made by the fishermen and others of the appear-

¹ *A Discourse, &c.*, p. 41.

ance of a strange monster in the bay which was said to resemble a huge serpent. Boston and all New England were greatly aroused and alarmed by this appearance. Efforts were made without success to capture the creature. Numerous items and letters were sent to the newspapers, and wild stories concerning the "sea serpent" were widely circulated.

Col. Humphreys, with his usual design of affording authentic information, gathered the various stories concerning the appearance of the creature, and made personal explorations of the Massachusetts coast from Gloucester to Manchester, entering many coves and inlets. As he considered the testimony of those who said they had seen the serpent worthy of belief, he put into the form of a letter some of his observations and notices of the appearance of the "serpent." This was to be sent to the Hon. Sir Joseph Banks, President of the Royal Society in London. He continued the results of the investigation in other letters until a series of seven had been written. The first was dated at Boston on September 2, 1817, and the seventh on November 14, 1817.

The public interest was so great that he consented to the publication of them before transmission to the Royal Society.

They deal minutely with the various appearances of the monster, contain diagrams based upon estimated measurements, with reflections upon the history of serpents and their religious significance. The Linnæan Society of Boston also made a thorough study of the appearances, and published in a small pamphlet a brief report drawn up by its appointed committee, the Hon. John Davis, Jacob Bigelow, M.D., and Francis C. Gray, with depositions of persons at Gloucester who said they had seen the "serpent," with a letter from the Hon. Lonson Nash, of the Massachusetts Senate. In the publication several diagrams are given. No opinion is expressed by the committee, which merely presents the supposed facts.¹

¹ *Report of the Linnæan Society of New England, relative to a large Marine*

The revision of his *Letters* was the last literary work done by Colonel Humphreys. The little volume was well received and attained great popularity.

At a visit made to his manufactories in January, 1818, Colonel Humphreys was seized with an attack of dropsy of the heart, the first serious illness he had ever had. He was confined to his comfortable lodgings at Butler's Tavern, New Haven, on Church Street, very near the site of the present Post Office. Every care and attention was given him, and his condition was not considered serious. He had frequently indulged in short walks and received his friends, talking with them in a cheerful animated strain usual to him. It is said that his disease was aggravated on the morning of Saturday, February 21, by handing, with his usual courtesy, a lady to her carriage, and standing hat in hand, until her departure. Returning to his room "he was in cheerful conversation as he lay on the sofa, not more than twelve minutes before he expired; his company happening to leave the room, no one saw him for the space of three or four minutes, at the end of which time a visible alteration appeared in his countenance and in eight minutes he had breathed his last without a struggle."¹

The only contemporary description of the personal appearance of Colonel Humphreys is that by Mrs. Stephens:

Among its inhabitants the first person who presents himself to my mind is the man who kept up in his appearance and habits all the traditions that have come down to us from the Revolution. I remember him, at first dimly, in a blue coat with large gold (or what appeared to be gold) buttons, a buff vest, and lace ruffles around his wrists and in his bosom. His

Animal supposed to be a Serpent seen near Cape Ann in August, 1817.
Boston: Published for the Society, 1817.

¹ Obituary of General David Humphreys, LL.D., in the *Connecticut Journal*, New Haven, February 24, 1818, volume li., No. 2626.

complexion was soft and blooming like that of a child, and his gray hair, swept back from the forehead, was gathered in a cue behind and tied with a black or red ribbon. His white and plump hands I recollect well, for whenever he met me they were sure to ruffle up my curls, and sometimes my temper, which was frequently tranquillized with some light coin ranging anywhere from a "four pence half penny" to half a dollar.¹

It is the uniform tradition that his height was six feet two inches, that his weight was two hundred and thirty pounds, and his appearance imposing. He had the manners of the gentlemen of the old school, and a peculiar suavity and polish all his own.

A miniature of him was painted by Edward G. Malbone, of Newport, Rhode Island, one of the greatest American miniature painters, whose graceful touch and delicate colouring are well known. It was probably from this that the illustration for the first complete sketch of Colonel Humphreys' life to that time was taken. It appeared in that admirable Boston magazine, *The Polyanthos*, in February, 1807.²

Mr. William Dunlap, the early historian of the arts of design in the United States, declares it to be "the only true portrait of this amiable man."³

A portrait painted by Gilbert Stuart represents him seated by a table holding in one hand some manuscripts and with the other hand resting upon a book. It was presented by his widow to Yale College, and now hangs in the Yale Art Gallery.

The engraving found in his *Miscellaneous Works* has not been traced to its original source; even the name of the engraver does not appear.

¹ *History of Derby*, pp. 456-8.

² *The Polyanthos*, 1st Series, iv., February, 1807, pp. 145-152.

³ *A History of the American Theatre*, by William Dunlap, New York, J. & J. Harper, 1832, p. 89.

CHAPTER XXI

Conclusion

Funeral at New Haven—Resolutions Passed at Town Meeting at Derby—Orcutt's Estimate of Mrs. Humphreys' Income—Probably Erroneous—Summary of Humphreys' Will—After-life of Mrs. Humphreys—Her Second Marriage to Count Walewski—His Previous Career—Their Residence Abroad—And Death—Monument over Humphreys' Grave—Its Inscription.

THE news of the death of Colonel Humphreys came as a shock to his numerous friends, and caused profound grief in every quarter. Sincere tokens of mourning were seen in the city where he had spent his college days and a portion of his maturer years.

The funeral was held on Tuesday, February 24th. The procession was formed at Mr. Butler's. The students of Yale College acted as an honorary escort preceding the hearse; immediately after the mourners were his excellency Oliver Wolcott, Governor of Connecticut, and his honour Jonathan Ingersoll, the Lieutenant Governor; the surviving officers of the Revolution; the civil authorities of the Town; the Faculty of Yale College; militia officers; and citizens. The cortège moved slowly to the North Brick Meeting-house on the Green. A very large congregation filled the house. All the clergy of the town were in attendance. Appropriate music was rendered by a selected choir. Prayers were offered by the pastor of

the church, the Rev. Samuel Merwin. The procession then reformed and marched to the new burying ground on Grove Street. The burial service was said by the Rev. Harry Croswell, Rector of Trinity Church.¹

While his friends felt keenly the death of David Humphreys and appreciative notices appeared in many newspapers in various parts of the country, there seems to have been no public eulogy or any formal action taken except in his native town.

At a town meeting held on April 13, 1818, at Derby, it was "voted that we appoint a Committee to prepare resolutions expressive of the sense entertained by this town of the distinguished character and services of our fellow citizen, GENERAL DAVID HUMPHREYS, comprising a biographical sketch of his life, and report to this meeting, to be held by adjournment on the 27 inst. at one o'clock, afternoon, and that John L. Tomlinson, Truman Carr, and Dr. Crafts be the Committee."²

Whether the committee could not fulfil the duty assigned it, or the family desired no public notice of the General, or from some other reason now impossible to ascertain, this is the only mention of the death upon the Derby records. Diligent search has failed to establish the fact that the adjourned meeting was ever held.

While General Humphreys had from his early man-

¹ The following will be read with interest:

Parish of Trinity Church
in New Haven.

PARISH HOUSE VESTRY ROOMS

April 23, A. D. 1902.

To Whom it may concern:—

This will certify that the Parochial Register of the Parish of Trinity Church has recorded therein by the then Rector, Rev. Harry Croswell, that the burial of Gen. David Humphreys took place February 24th, A. D. 1818.

A true copy of Record,

Attested, EDMUND C. BEECHER,

Clerk of Parish of Trinity Church in New Haven.

² Orcutt's *History of Derby*, p. 459.

hood been engaged in active occupations with a liberal salary, he did not accumulate a fortune. There was a fair income from the manufactures at Humphreysville after the profits had been divided with his nephews. According to Orcutt, who had access to private papers, Madam Humphreys is said to have had a yearly income of thirty thousand pounds sterling, but this amount seems too large for those days and we are apt to think that there must be some mistake in the figures. Such an income would have made the Humphreys the richest couple in the United States with the possible exception of John Jacob Astor and Stephen Girard. The comparatively small fortune which the Colonel left, according to his will, is another evidence that Mr. Orcutt must have been in error in attributing so large an income to Mrs. Humphreys. Any income at all approaching this figure of course made the Humphreys independent of other resources.

Their style of living was that suited to the society in which they moved in Europe and this country. Colonel Humphreys, on August 5, 1806, previous to leaving for Europe, made his will. It was drawn up and witnessed by his friends the Hon. Simeon Baldwin and Roger Baldwin, well-known lawyers of New Haven. Annuities of three hundred and fifty dollars each were settled upon his brother John, his sister Mrs. Mills, and his sister-in-law Anna (Mansfield) Humphreys. He gave to his nieces and nephews one thousand dollars each. The remainder of his property, both real and personal, he bequeathed to "his dearly beloved wife, Ann Frances Humphreys," from which was to be reserved for the benefit of his nephews one half of the net income of the manufactures at Humphreysville and one half of the net profits "from my Merinos and stock of Cattle of all kinds."

He desired Madam Humphreys to provide elegant mourning rings for the friends he had in highest estimation. It was his earnest wish that his dearly beloved wife should bequeath her share of the estate to his nephews and nieces as "her own relatives are in such affluent circumstances as to have no occasion for them." In case Madam Humphreys should die before the Colonel, the bequest to her is to be divided among the nephews and nieces with a double share for each nephew.

Madam Humphreys, John Humphreys, Jun., Daniel Humphreys, Jun., and David Humphreys, third, were appointed executors. The will was admitted to probate in the New Haven District by the Hon. Elizur Goodrich, Judge of Probate, on March 30, 1818. Madam Humphreys and John Humphreys, Jun., the two survivors of the executors, qualified and administered upon the estate. The inventory showed that the whole value was about fifty-five thousand dollars. This included a well chosen library of nearly four hundred volumes, some of them being presentation copies from the authors.

This will be the most fitting place to record the little that is known concerning the after-life of the Colonel's widow. After the death of her husband, Madam Humphreys continued to live in the house on Mount Vernon Street, Boston. She retained the friends of the Colonel, and her house became noted among the most exclusive circles of that city for the distinguished and agreeable company both foreign and native to be met there.

The dispersion of the Grand Army of Napoleon after the crushing defeat at Waterloo brought many soldiers and officers to America. Among others who entered Boston society and received much attention was Count

Étienne Cajetan de Walewski, who became one of the "lions" of Boston. He was then about forty-three years old. He was introduced to Madam Humphreys, made welcome at her house, and finally won her regard and affection. On December 17, 1829, a declaration of an intention of marriage between Count Walewski and Madam Humphreys was filed with the city clerk.

On December 31, 1829, Mrs. Ann Frances Humphreys and Count Walewski were married at her home by the Rev. Dr. Alonzo Potter, Rector of St. Paul's Church, Boston. Her friend, the Hon. John Pickering, at her request "gave her away," much to the amusement of his friends."

It is said "that he had advised her to secure her property to her separate use." She, however, declined doing so, remarking: "It is delightful to us women to feel ourselves dependent for everything upon the man we love."

On May 14, 1830, the Count and Countess de Walewski conveyed to Isaac P. Davis the house on Mount Vernon Street to hold in trust for their benefit.¹

The following facts concerning the career of Count de Walewski were taken from the records of the French War Office, the Préfecture de la Seine, and other official sources in Paris, during the summer of 1903. They show that he had filled a distinguished and honourable position in the French army, and was in no sense the mere adventurer that some writers upon the subject of Madam Humphreys' second marriage supposed him to be.

Étienne Cajetan François de Walewski was born at

¹ Fifth Report of the Records Commissioners City of Boston, 1880, p. 160.

² Registry of Deeds of Suffolk County, liber 351, folio 34.

Olsozeszow, Poland, in 1784. He entered the Polish Fourth Regiment of Chasseurs à pied on November 21, 1806, as sub-Lieutenant. He was promoted to be Lieutenant on July 12, 1807, and attained the rank of Captain on February 15, 1810. On August 4, 1813, he was named French Captain attached to the *État Major* of the Fourth Army Corps. On January 14, 1814, he was made Aide-de-Camp to General Kellermann. He served in the Prussian campaign in 1806-7, that in Pomerania and Sweden in 1809, in Russia in 1812, in Germany in 1813, and in France in 1814. He took part in the battles of Eylau, where he was wounded by a sabre cut on the head; Friedland, Stralsund, Moskva, Berezina, Leipsic, where he distinguished himself by the capture of a Prussian Major, and at Brienne. By a decree of Napoleon on May 13, 1815, he was named on the *État Major*, and served bravely at Waterloo. On August 4, 1815, he was licensed to the army of the Loire. He was made a Knight of the Military Order of Poland on September 9, 1809, and a Knight of the Legion of Honour on November 7, 1813.

The newly married couple soon sailed for Paris, which they made their future home. No events of their life have been ascertained; the current tradition is that the Count soon dissipated his wife's fortune and that she died in poverty. This, however, is conjecture, for nothing positive is known. The one solitary fact which diligent research in Paris substantiates is that the couple were, in January, 1832, at No. 62 St. Lazare, a quarter in Paris neither expensive nor aristocratic.

The Countess died on March 2, 1832, and the records in Paris show that her husband, when he died on April 2, 1848, was buried two days later by her side in the same "perpetual concession," though in what cemetery is not stated. As wills are not probated in France, but remain in the custody of the family solicitor, it has been impossible

to find out whether either the Count or Countess made a will.

After the death of the Countess the sale of the Mount Vernon Street property was ordered by Count de Walewski. This was effected on October 5, 1833, the purchasers being the Misses Catherine and Augusta Brewster, "gentlewomen"; the price paid was thirteen thousand dollars.¹ The net proceeds of the sale were transmitted to the Count.

The house is still standing and in good repair. It is now numbered 89, and has been used as a boarding-house. The present occupant is Mr. J. R. Macy.²

In 1819, there was erected over the grave of General Humphreys a granite obelisk twelve feet in height. The form of the monument was then new in this country. Upon the east and west faces of the monument were fastened copper plates bearing in deeply incised letters this inscription from the classic pen of his friend, Professor Benjamin Silliman, of Yale College:

DAVID HUMPHREYS, LL.D.,

*Acad. Scient. Philad. Mass. et Connect.
et in Anglia Aquae Solis, et Regiae Societat.
Socius.
Patriae et Libertatis amore accensus.
Juvenis vitam Reipub. integrum consecravit,
patriam armis tuebatur,
consiliis auxit, literis exornavit,
apud exteras gentes concordia stabilivit.*

¹ Registry of Deeds, Suffolk County, liber 373, folio 23.

² Letter of James B. Ayer, M.D., of Boston, the best authority upon the old houses of the city.



Humphreys' Monument in the Grove Street Cemetery, New Haven

(On the reverse:)

*In bello gerendo
maximi ducis WASHINGTON administer et adjutor;
in exercitu patrio Chiliarchus;
in Republica Connecticutensi
militum evocatorum Imperator;
ad Aulam Lusitan et Hispan. Legatus,
Iberia reversus natale solum
vellere vero aureo ditavit.*

*In Historia et Poesi scriptor eximius;
in Artibus et Scientiis excolendis,
quae vel decori vel usui inserviunt,
optimus ipse et patronus et exemplar,
Omnibus demum officiis expletis,
cursuq; viae feliciter peracto, fato cessit,*

*Die XXI. Februar. Anno Domini MDCCCXVIII
cum annos vixisset LXV.*

TRANSLATION:

DAVID HUMPHREYS, Doctor of Laws:

A Member of the Academy of Sciences in Philadelphia, in Massachusetts, and in Connecticut; A Member of the Bath and West of England Society; a Fellow of the Royal Society.

Inflamed with the love of his native land and of liberty he devoted his whole youth to the republic.

With arms he protected his native land,
With his counsels he aided it,
With his writings he adorned it.

(On the reverse:)

During the war he was an officer and aide of the distinguished General Washington; a colonel in the patriot army; the General of the veteran volunteers of the State of Connecticut; an Ambassador at the Courts of Portugal and of Spain.

When he returned from Spain he enriched his native soil with the fleece truly golden. A notable writer of History and Poetry. In the cultivation of the arts and sciences which serve for beauty or for use he was at the same time the patron and the model. At length all duties finished and the course of his life happily completed, he yielded to the common lot on the twenty-first day of February, in the year of our Lord, 1818, when he had lived sixty-five years.

So far as is known, this is the earliest use of copper plates for monumental purposes in this country although we have in modern times revived the mediæval custom of brass or bronze tablets. There seems to have been some difficulty with the founder over the plates as we learn from the following correspondence. The proposed poetical inscription by Col. John Trumbull was not inscribed on the monument. In their dignity and truthfulness the sonorous Latin sentences perhaps form for our hero the most suitable epitaph.

BOSTON, May 14th, 1819.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have just been informed by letter from Mr. Sedgwick, of that villain Hill's infamous conduct in commencing a suit against you. I hasten to enclose the letter by Messrs. P. Ward and Sands to Mr. Sedgwick; to save you further trouble. I will intreat of you my dear Sir to inform Mr. Sedgwick if the Founder's bill be just. I will thank you to grant me the additional favour of giving your instructions to Mr. Sedgwick regarding the very unfortunate plates, as to their being well and properly conveyed to New Haven to the care of Mr. Silliman.

Trumbull to Madam Humphreys 439

Directions from you regarding the manner of their being affixed to the Granite will be very important.

In the meantime forgive the hurry and agitation with which I write you these few words praying you to accept *again* my regrets, at the trouble and anxiety I have involuntarily caused you as well as the gratitude with which I am

Your faithful friend and obt servant

ANN FRANCES HUMPHREYS.

Endorsed:

To

COL. JOHN TRUMBULL,
New York.

NEW YORK, July 3rd, 1819.

MRS. HUMPHREYS }
Boston }

DEAR MADAM,

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letters of May 9th and 14th. Mr. Sedgwick informed me a few days ago that the business with Hill is at last settled, and that he is in possession of the Receipt discharging you and me from all future demands.

The plates are in my possession. The family of Mr. Silliman have been for some time in such distress, from the dangerous illness of his eldest son,—and the approaching accouchement of Mrs. S. that I have hitherto deferred our intended visit to Connecticut. I understand that the latter event has taken place happily; and I propose soon to get to New Haven, when I will take the plates with me, deliver them to Mr. S. and give the necessary directions. While I sincerely regret the vexation which this affair has cost you, permit me to congratulate you on its being at last brought to a termination. I hope no other difficulty can now arise to prevent or delay the accomplishment of your wishes respecting the Monument.

Mrs. T. joins me, Dear Madam, in every wish for your health and happiness.

JOHN TRUMBULL.¹

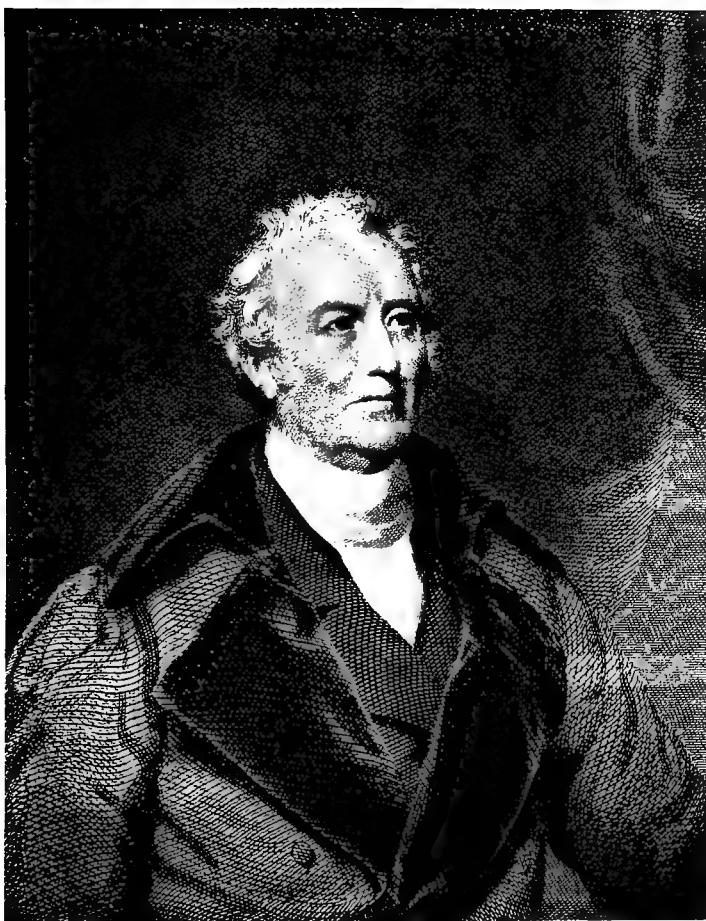
¹ Signed in pencil.

Conclusion

This sacred stone, by future patriots read,
 May bid the living emulate the dead:
 Him who in youth was arm'd for civil right,
 And shar'd the dangers brav'd in freedom's fight.
 These sylvan plains, where first to life he sprung,
 His sword defended, and his numbers sung.
 In graver years the statesman's toil he prov'd,
 And serv'd, in foreign realms, the land he lov'd.
 Ere age advanc'd back to that land he bore
 The fleecy treasures of Iberia's shore.
 Patron of arts, and guardian of the state;
 Friend to the poor and favour'd by the great;
 To sum all titles to respect in one—
 Here Humphreys rests,—belov'd of Washington.

This is the inscription as your friends would wish it, dear Madam, but the beginning strikes me as tame, and somewhat abrupt. On the two following pages are some variations. I send them all and your friend is at perfect liberty to make a selection of the one he may prefer.

Insensate matter's gloomy rest to break,
 Bid dust be eloquent and marble speak
 This stone may claim, by future patriots read,
 And tell the living, emulate the dead:
 Him who in youth was arm'd for civil right,
 And shar'd the dangers brav'd in freedom's fight.
 These sylvan plains, where first to life he sprung,
 His sword defended, and his numbers sung.
 In graver years the statesman's toil he prov'd,
 And serv'd in foreign realms the land he lov'd.
 Ere age advanc'd, home to that land he bore
 The fleecy treasures of Iberia's shore.
 Patron of arts, and guardian of the state;
 Friend to the poor, and favour'd by the great:
 To sum all titles to respect, in one—
 Here Humphreys rests,—belov'd of Washington.



John Umble

The next is the original with the first objectional couplet a little altered:

If to departed worth benignant Heaven
A power of working miracles had given,
Insensate matter's gloomy rest to break,
Bid dust be eloquent and marble speak;
Then e'en this stone by future patriots read,
Might raise the virtues buried with the dead:
Him who in youth was arm'd for civil right,
And shar'd the dangers brav'd in freedom's fight.
These sylvan plains, where first to life he sprung,
His sword defended and his numbers sung.
In graver years the statesman's toil he prov'd,
And serv'd in foreign realms, the land he lov'd.
Ere age advanc'd, home to that land he bore
The fleecy treasures of Iberia's shore.
Patron of arts, and guardian of the state,
Friend to the poor and favour'd by the great,
To sum all titles to respect, in one,—
Here Humphreys rests—belov'd of Washington.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

- I.—ACCOUNT OF DAVID HUMPHREYS WITH THE STATE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI OF CONNECTICUT.
- II.—LETTERS FROM THE PICKERING PAPERS IN BOSTON.
- III.—EARLY WOOLLEN MILLS IN THE UNITED STATES.
- IV.—TREASURY CLAIM AGAINST MRS. DAVID HUMPHREYS.
- V.—WILL OF DAVID HUMPHREYS.
- VI.—BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE WORKS OF DAVID HUMPHREYS.
- VII.—MISCELLANEOUS LETTERS.

I

ACCOUNT OF DAVID HUMPHREYS WITH THE
STATE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI
OF CONNECTICUT

The State Society of the Cincinnati of Connecticut,
To D. HUMPHREYS, Dr.

To his Expenses incurred by attending the General Meeting,
viz:

To a Seat in the Stage from New York to
Philadelphia..... £0.18.0

To his Expenses on the road between those
places..... 0. 8.0

To his Bill in the City Tavern in Philadelphia 2. 6.0

To a Seat in the Stage from Philadelphia to New
York..... 0.18.0

To his expenses on the road returning to New York 0.12.0

(Lawful Money) £5. 2.0

D. HUMPHREYS.

I certify upon honour that the above specified sums were
actually and necessarily expended by me, in attending the
General Meeting of the Cincinnati at Philadelphia, in May

1790, as a Delegate from the State Society of the State of Connecticut.

D. HUMPHREYS.

NEW YORK, June 1st, 1790.

By Vote of the Society ordered to be paid
by the Treasurer.

Hartford, July 7th, 1790.

EBEN HUNTINGTON,

Assist. Secr.¹

II

LETTERS FROM THE PICKERING PAPERS IN BOSTON

The following letters, which have been found among the Pickering Papers, all bear on the early days of Humphreys' career, when he was aide-de-camp to General Washington. While they are not of sufficient value to be inserted in the text, they are placed here as they are of value to the student of the Revolutionary War.

B. vol. xiii., 36, 37.

No. 10.

To COLO. TIMOTHY PICKERING, Q.M.G.

HEAD QUARTERS, NEW WINDSOR,
Jany 3^d, 1781.

SIR,

I am commanded by His Excellency to inform you that there is now a considerable quantity of Flour at Ringwood, which it is of the last importance to have thrown into the Garrison of West Point, before the Rocks become impassable. He requests you, therefore, to have every means made use of, for bringing it forward without the loss of a moment's time, by impressing Teams or any other mode which you think will be most effectual. In the Commissary's Return of Provisions

¹ Original in possession of the author.

The State Society of the Cincinnati of Connecticut
To D. Humphreys Dr - -

To his expences incurred by attending the General Meeting, viz:

To a Seat in the Stage from New York to Philadelphia \$0.18-0

To his expences on the road between those places -- 0- 8- 0

To his Bill at the City Tavern in Philadelphia -- 2-6-0

To a Seat in the Stage from Philadelphia to New York. 0-18-0

To his expences on the road in returning to New York 0- 12- 0
(Lawful Money) \$ 5-2-0.

D. Humphreys.

I Certify upon honor that the above specified sums were
actually & necessarily expended by me, in attending the General
Meeting of the Cincinnati at Philadelphia, in May 1790, as
a Delegate from the State Society of the State of Connecticut.

D. Humphreys.

New York June 1st 1790.

By vote of Society ordered
to be paid by the Treasurer

Hartford July 7 1790

Genl Huntington
Officer

Humphreys' Bill for Attending the General Meeting of the Society of the Cincinnati.
Countersigned by General Huntington

issued at the several posts, the General observes that there are forty Batteau men at Fishkill, exclusive of all the Boatmen at Fishkill Landing. He wishes to have an investigation into the matter and that they may be employed in the proper service for which they were designed.

I enclose you a receipt for two Boats, which were left at Brunswick and which His Excellency desires may be brought to King's Ferry on Carriages without loss of Time. There is also one Flat bottomed Boat at the two Bridges which is to be brought forward. It is his Request that you will be pleased to give such orders to your Agents, or take such other measures, as will not fail to have these Boats transported to King's Ferry, as early as may be with convenience.

I have the honour to be &c.,

D. HUMPHREYS.

A.D.C.¹

From Washington's Orderly Books,
State Department.

B. vol. xiii., 67, 68.

No. 31.

To COLO. TIMOTHY PICKERING, Q.M.G.

HEAD QUARTERS, Jany 14, 1781.

SIR,

I have laid your letter of this date before His Excellency, who directs me to inform you in general, that he believes the order of Major-General Heath to have originated from a request lately made to him to have a full investigation into the issue of provisions at the several Posts, but that this was not particularly designed for your Department which may yet be put on such a footing as to give satisfaction in this article.

Just after you left Headquarters yesterday the General received letters from the Committee of Congress advising that the Pennsylvanians were on their march to Trenton, and that an accomodation was likely to take place. He therefore

¹ Pickering Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

Appendix

thinks it best to have the Horses remain in their present places as he expects to receive such intelligence in the course of the night or early to-morrow as will absolutely determine what line of conduct he is to pursue.

I have the honour to be &c.,
D. HUMPHREYS.¹

B. vol. xiii., 319.

To M. GENERAL HEATH,
West Point.

HEAD QUARTERS, NEW WINDSOR,
28th Ap^l, 1781.

DEAR SIR,

I am directed by His Excellency, the Commander-in-chief, to inform you that the Troops of the Massachusetts Line may receive four Months' Pay.

I have the honour to be &c.,
D. HUMPHREYS,
A.D.C.²

B. vol. xiii., 314.

No. 265.

To MAJOR RICHARD PLATT, D.Q.M.

HEAD QUARTERS, 26th Ap^l, 1781.

DEAR SIR,

We have just returned from West Point where Colonel Pickering handed me the inclosed and desired me to forward it. There is not a mouthful of Bread or Flour at the Garrison for to-morrow. The General is seriously alarmed at the prospect, and requests to know what is doing respecting the transportation of the Flour. And whether anything else is necessary to put the business in the speediest and surest train of execution.

I am, Dear Sir, &c.,
D. HUMPHREYS, A.D.C.³

¹ Pickering Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

² *Ibid.* ³ *Ibid.*

CAMP Augt 15, 1781.

DR. SIR,

On the opposite page is an estimate of the quantity of forage which it may be proper to leave with the families resident in this county; which you informed me the General wished might be fixed.

Y^r: most obed^t serv^t,

T. PICKERING,

Q.M.G.¹LT COL^o HUMPHREYS.

That the families actually residing in the county of West Chester may not be distressed, by taking away their forage, I would propose that they be allowed to retain—

For 4 persons in family	{ 35 bushels of wheat 20 bushels of corn } for bread & seed.
2 horses	{ 3 tons of hay & 10 bushels of corn, oats or buckwheat.
2 cows	2 tons of hay.
4 hogs	20 bushels of corn or buckwheat.

And so in proportion for a smaller or larger family.

TIM. PICKERING, Q.M.G.

CAMP Augt 15, 1781.

Endorsed: An Estimate of the quantity
of Forage necessary to be left
for each Inhabitant by Col. Pickering—Aug.
15th, 1781.²

NEWBURGH, July 16, 1782.

SIR,

In the absence of his Excellency, the Commander-in-Chief, the Enclosed information has been received which I take the liberty to forward to your Excellency, as the frontiers of this State appear to be particularly concerned thereby, if my belief ever should prove to be well founded since his Excellency left here I have in consequence of his direction ordered the Dep^t Q^t Master to forward to Albany 400 Cartridge Boxes to be

¹ Pickering Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston. ² *Ibid.*

Appendix

selected from the best of the damaged boxes in store for the use of the State Reg^t Commanded by Col. Willet. This will enable all those troops to be employed within the Frontier of the Mohawk in conformity to the General's Wishes, which have been signified to the commanding officer in his Department. If anything further should be necessary during the absence of the General I am well assured, he will be particularly happy in your paying such attention to it as you shall judge requisite.

I have the honour to be with perfect respect,
Your Excellency's most obedt servant,

D. HUMPHREYS,
Aide to the Commander-in-Chief.

His Excellency,
GOVERNOR CLINTON,
Endorsed: Col^o Humphreys' Letter respecting Frontiers.¹

III

EARLY WOOLLEN MILLS IN THE UNITED STATES

The city of Hartford, Connecticut, can claim the honour of the first woollen mill in the United States. A stock company was formed for the purpose of manufacturing woollen goods on April 28, 1783. Its mill was soon after erected at the foot of Mulberry Street on the west bank of Little River. Colonel Wadsworth and other prominent men of the city and State were financially interested in it. It manufactured "broad-cloths, coatings, cassimeres, serges and everlasting."

In October, 1788, General Washington visited the mill. He subsequently ordered from it the broadcloth for the suit in which he was inaugurated on April 30, 1789. His criticism of the cloth is that it was "good but not yet of the best quality."

Mr. John Adams, the Vice-President, also ordered cloth for a suit which he wore when presiding in the Senate.

During the year between September 1, 1788, and September

¹ Pennsylvania Historical Society, Philadelphia, Pa.

Dear & Smth

Head Quarters Jan^{ry} 2^d

I have rec'd yours of
the 20th & had the subject of
it before the General; who is clear
of opinion as Congress have left
no latitude for partial exchanges in
their Act of the 16 of Oct^t; it is in
in his power to give any discretion
Order; and it would I am persua.
be disagreeable to urge the matter —
Previous, however, to that Act, it is
recollect'd application had been made
by Genl Thos: for the exchange of an
Officer

Offices (I think it was Sutherland)
to which the General's agent was
given. Should Mr. Sutherland appear
to be the Gentleman alluded to, the ex-
change may be considered as having
been carried into execution at the
beforementioned time, & an Office of
Cars liberated in consequence - As
to the hardships experienced by other
Individuals in consequence of a long
Captivity, - all we can do is to feel
for them, it rests with their own
Party to liberate them, by entering
into a general Exchange -

I M^r Washington requests me

to thank you in her name for
Almanac — we all remember
as we ought, particularly

Your friend

PJ

D Humphrey

Official accounts of the ^{Aid of} evacuation of ^{of} Bradfords
have arrived of Philadelphia
by Major Barnett — previous to
which Genl Greene had effected
an ineffectual exchange of prisoners in
that quarter —

From Head Quarters
23rd Jan'y. 1783 —

1, 1789, five thousand yards of broadcloth had been made at the mill, some of which sold for five dollars a yard.

In his famous report upon American manufactures made in 1791, Alexander Hamilton, then Secretary of the Treasury, mentions it as having "attained a considerable degree of perfection certainly surpassing anything which could be expected in so short a time under so great difficulties."

During the commercial controversies with England and France its business declined and soon after 1795 its operation was discontinued.

It is stated by the historian of American manufactures, Mr. Bishop, that about this time a small woollen mill was erected at Stockbridge, Berkshire County, Massachusetts, but no particulars concerning it seem to be available.

In March, 1793, two brothers, John and Arthur Scholfield, sons of a wealthy clothier of Saddlesworth, England, thoroughly acquainted with the business and able to put together their own machinery, sailed from Liverpool for Boston. They met the Rev. Jedidiah Morse, the author of the first American Geography, who became interested in their plans of establishing a cloth manufactory. The brothers had brought with them Mr. John Shaw, an expert spinner, and a small but fairly prosperous business was established in the house of John Scholfield at Charlestown. He himself had made all the machinery needed. Mr. Morse mentioned their enterprise to some gentlemen of wealth at Newburyport, and the brothers were invited to settle there. A stock company was formed and incorporated in 1794 for the manufacture of woollen goods. A factory was erected on Parker River in the parish of Byfield. Its product was sold readily, and for several years it was fairly prosperous. The factory was such a novelty and so many persons visited it that a small admission fee was charged.

Mr. William Bartlett, the president of the company, in 1798 bought out the Scholfields and other shareholders and transferred the business to Mr. John Lee, who in 1806 converted the mill into a cotton factory.

In 1798 Mr. John Scholfield purchased a mill privilege at Montville, Connecticut, and erected a woollen mill which he

Appendix

operated for many years. Mr. Arthur Scholfield remained with him two years and then removed to Pittsfield, Massachusetts, where he set up a carding machine, and soon made other carding machines for sale.

His enterprise brought about the formation of a company in 1809 under the style of The Pittsfield Woollen and Cotton Factory. Mr. Scholfield had previously carried on a small factory in which he manufactured excellent cloth.

In 1801 Mr. Rowland Hazard erected at Peacedale, Rhode Island, a woollen mill which continued in successful operation for many years. With the same design of fostering American manufactures which influenced Colonel Humphreys in his enterprises, and to show the merits of merino wool, Chancellor Livingston erected previous to 1808 a woollen mill at Poughkeepsie.

Its cloths were justly noted for their superior quality—an advertisement in the Albany papers for April, 1808, shows that they found a ready sale. The leading tailors of that city, Messrs. George W. and Ira Porter, announced that they had just received "from the manufactory at Poughkeepsie the best superfine broadcloth, made of the wool of the Spanish Merino breed of sheep, imported by Chancellor Livingston. This cloth for quality and beauty is not exceeded by any imported."¹

IV

TREASURY CLAIM AGAINST MRS. DAVID HUMPHREYS

A claim was made upon Madam Humphreys in 1823 for an alleged unsettled balance due the United States by Colonel Humphreys on account of the expenses of the Commission to the Creek nation in 1789. She submitted the letter to her husband's old friend, the former Secretary of State, Colonel

¹ The chief authorities for this sketch are: "The New England Wool Manufacture," by S. N. D. North, in *Bulletin of the National Association*, Boston, September, 1899; pp. 161-179, *History of Pittsfield*, ii., by J. E. A. Smith, Springfield, 1876; pp. 153, 154, *History of Newburyport*, by Mrs. Vale Smith, Newburyport, 1854.

Timothy Pickering. His reply is interesting. A recent inquiry at the Treasury Department shows that the claim was abandoned by the accounting officers of the government.

SALEM, Decr 6, 1823.

DEAR MADAM,

One of my sons usually calls daily at the post office for letters; but he having been absent several days, yours of the 29 ult. has lain there until this morning when calling myself it was handed to me. I regret the delay,—the more because the subject gives you uneasiness, from which my answer might possibly afford you some relief. Just at the Commencement of the Government under the present Constitution, in the year 1789 to establish peace on all our borders, Difficulties, I believe hostilities—existed with the Creek nation of Indians. To remove them and bring about a peace, President Washington instituted a Mission, and General Lincoln, C. Griffin, (I suppose the late Judge Cyrus Griffin of Virginia) and Colonel Humphreys were appointed Commissioners to treat with the Creeks. They sailed to Georgia, held conferences with the chiefs, and induced them to send a deputation to the seat of government, then the city of New York. There a formal treaty was made with them on the 7th of August, 1790, by General Knox, Secretary of War, commissioned for that purpose by the President. Some unforeseen difficulties prevented the Commissioners concluding a treaty in Georgia.

I was not then in office but in the Country in Pennsylvania. However, I well remember the transaction as represented at the time, and believe this account of it substantially correct.

Three or four and thirty years have since elapsed, all the Commissioners died many years after the transactions; and had they been called on by the officers of the Treasury, a satisfactory account of the expenditure of the money would doubtless have been expedited. But to neglect this call for so long a period, and till the Commissioners who could have rendered an account of the expenditure were all dead, and now to demand a settlement from their families appears to me extremely unreasonable.

Appendix

Considering the nature of the service requiring the expenditure, and all the circumstances respecting it, you are certainly justified in your remark, "that you do not feel uneasy about the ultimate result." But you ought not to be exposed to any trouble in the case. I therefore suggest for your consideration that as you have already consulted Mr. Otis, you ask his aid in stating the case to Mr. Webster, representative in Congress from Boston, and to desire him to present the same first to the Comptroller, and if he is not satisfied, then to the Secretary of the Treasury, and finally if need be to the President.

In this way I should hope that the matter may remain as it is, another three or four and thirty years—that is forever.

I do not know but some modern act of Congress may have imperatively required the Comptroller to cause suits to be brought in a like case of however long standing. If so, neither the Secretary nor the President may think it proper to interfere. As the sums are charged against all the Commissioners, I presume that all three signed the receipt to the Treasurer. But suppose a suit should finally be brought against their executors or administrators, I presume it will be for the entire sums charged; yet no officer of the government will say that the whole should be recovered. They must know that in the service actually performed a large expenditure must necessarily have been made; and what part of the sums charged can a court or jury say was not expended? For what then can judgment be rendered? In the result the suit must be abandoned. But I am travelling into the department of a lawyer, to me forbidden ground. Mr. Otis will give you his opinion and advice. Here I was closing my letter. Further recollection induces me to add, that it is clearly impressed upon my mind that the sum allowed to each Commissioner was eight dollars a day. This became an established precedent, and the same that I received in 1790, and afterwards in my several negotiations with the Northern Indians.

The time occupied in the voyage to Georgia, to meet the Creeks, their conferences with them and the voyage back to the seat of government, and thence to their places of residence

cannot have been less than two or three months. Suppose it is eighty days, then at \$8 per day the compensation to each would be \$640, and for the three \$1920, which are \$18.21 more than the sum charged against them in money. As for the Indian goods they were probably purchased by some agent and delivered over to them to distribute in presents to the Indians. Had money for the Indian goods been advanced to enable them to purchase it would have been a round sum in dollars, eight or nine thousand, but it being \$8280.14, the inference is obvious that the specified goods to be purchased amounted precisely to that sum, and as to the distribution of the goods who will question their entire delivery to the Indians? No receipts in such cases were ever taken. If the Commissioners did not receive their pay out of the \$1901.79 then on their return they must have been paid by a warrant or warrants on the treasury; and this was the proper time for them to account for any monies charged against them; and I entertain no doubt that they did so account.

If not the fault was in the Treasury department; and the relicts of the Commissioners ought not at this late day, to be vexed with such demands as that which has been presented to you.

With sincere respect & esteem

I am, Madam, Your most obed't servant

T. PICKERING.^x

V

WILL OF DAVID HUMPHREYS

David Humphreys, At a court of Probate held March 30,
Esq., Derby. 1818, the last will and testament of the
Honourable David Humphreys, Town
of Derby dec'd, was this day proved and
approved, and is entered on record as follows:

^x Volume xxxviii, No. 279; the Pickering Papers, in the archives of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Also a rough draft in volume xv, No. 339.

In the name of God, Amen.

I, David Humphreys of Derby in Connecticut, now resident in Boston in Massachusetts, do make and publish this my last will and Testament respecting my temporal concerns in manner and form following, that is to say, Imprimis: I give and bequeath to my brother, John Humphreys, Esquire, to my sister, Sarah Mills, wife of the Rev. Samuel Mills, and to my sister-in-law, Anna Humphreys, widow of my late brother Elijah Humphreys deceased, an annuity of three hundred and fifty Dollars each, during their several natural lives; to be annually paid to each of them by my Executors hereafter named; and in case my Sister-in-law, Rachel Humphreys, wife of my brother John Humphreys, Esq., aforesaid shall survive him, the same annuity of three hundred and fifty Dollars, to be continued to her during her natural life.

Item: I do give and bequeath to my nephews John Humphreys, Jun. Esq. Elijah Humphreys, Daniel Humphreys, David Humphreys, third, and William Humphreys, and also to my nieces Sally Humphreys, Ann Thompson, Polly or Mary Humphreys, sons and daughters of my brother John Humphreys, Esq., and my late brother Major Elijah Humphreys, one thousand dollars each; that is to say, I give and bequeath to each my nephews and nieces, aforesigned the said sum of One thousand Dollars, to be paid to them and each of them by my Executors hereafter named within one year after my decease.

Item: I also give and devise to my nephew John Humphreys, Jun., Esq. before mentioned, the Dwelling House, land, and Appurtenances purchased by me from the Estate, of the late Dr. Sandford, and in which my said nephew now resides.

Item: In lieu of the moiety of my whole property fixed and moveable, which I heretofore covenanted and agreed, by a Voluntary, unsolicited marriage settlement, to give to my dearly beloved wife, Anne Frances Humphreys, I do now give, bequeath, and devise to her all the residue and remainder of my Estate, both real and personal of every nature, kind or description, not otherwise disposed of in this instrument,

excepting and reserving only half of the net income, or clear profits, arising from my Mills, Manufactures, land and tenements, situate in the county of New Haven, together with one half of the net profits accruing from my Merinos and the stock of Cattle of all kinds; which half so reserved I give and bequeath to my nephews before named, to be equally divided among them during the natural life of my said beloved wife.

Item: It is my sincere and earnest request, that my dearly beloved wife, Anne Frances Humphreys, will give and distribute elegant mourning rings, or other suitable tokens of remembrance to such of my friends as she knows I had in the highest estimation. It is, moreover, my sincere, earnest, and last desire that my dearly beloved wife, in case she should die without issue of her body, will bequeath and devise the great bulk of the Estate before mentioned to my nephews and nieces before named, seeing her own family relations are in such affluent circumstances as to have no occasion for them.

Item: If it should happen, that my dearly beloved wife, Anne Frances Humphreys should decease before me, so that the devises and bequests to her should not take effect, in that case my will is, and I do accordingly give, bequeath and devise to my said nephews and nieces, to be divided and distributed among them in such manner and proportion, that my said nephews shall each receive twice as much as each of my nieces, in other words, the nephews to have double, and the nieces single shares. And on such an event the surviving Executors of this my will are particularly charged to fulfil my wishes, in distributing the tokens of remembrance to my most esteemed friends, which I have in this Instrument particularly confided to the discretion of my dearly beloved wife.

Lastly: I do hereby make, continue and appoint my dearly beloved wife, Anne Frances Humphreys, and John Humphreys, Jun. Esq., Daniel Humphreys, Jun., and David Humphreys, third, Executors of this my last will and testament. And I further give and bequeath to each of my said executors, who shall accept and execute the trust, the additional sum of five hundred dollars, for their care and trouble,

exclusive of a reasonable customary compensation for their time and expenses; provided that they have accomplished the business of their trust to the satisfaction of my above mentioned wife, Anne Frances Humphreys.

In evidence whereof I have hereto set my hand and seal in the city of New Haven, this fifth day of August in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and six.

DAVID HUMPHREYS (L. S.)

Signed, sealed, published and declared by the said Testator, David Humphreys, to be his last will and Testament in the presence of us, who have hereto inscribed our names as witnesses in the presence of the Testator, and of each other.

SIMEON BALDWIN.

ELIZABETH BALDWIN.

ROGERS S. BALDWIN.

We the subscribers do depose and say that we saw the Honorable David Humphreys, late of Derby, dec'd, sign and seal the instrument on this paper written, and heard him declare it to be his last will and Testament, that we signed the same as witnesses in his presence, and in the presence of each other, and that we judged him to be of sound mind and memory.

Sworn March 30, 1818.

SIMEON BALDWIN.

ELIZUR GOODRICH

ELIZABETH BALDWIN.

Sitting in Court of Probate

ROGERS S. BALDWIN.

and Judge of said Court.

And said will being proved and approved, Anne Frances Humphreys, named Executrix in said will, signified her acceptance of said trust, and gave bond in the sum of \$50,000, with Elias Shipman as her surety, and John Humphreys, Jun., Esq., the only surviving Executor named in said will, signified his acceptance of said trust, and gave bonds in the same sum with Thomas Ross and William Humphreys, his sureties, and six months are limited and allowed for all creditors of the estate of said deceased to exhibit their respective

claims, of which the Executrix and Executors are ordered to file legal notice.¹

VI

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE WORKS OF DAVID HUMPHREYS

All the known writings of the author are included which had a separate publication, the various editions noted, and the public libraries in which copies may be found indicated.

These abbreviations are used:

A. A. S.	The American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts.
Athen.	The Library of the Athenæum Association, Boston, Massachusetts.
Brit. Mus.	The Library of the British Museum, London, England.
Bost. Pub.	The Public Library, Boston, Massachusetts.
Conn. His.	The Library of the Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, Connecticut.
Harv.	The Library of Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
L. I.	The Library of the Long Island Historical Society, Brooklyn, New York.
Mass. His.	The Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Massachusetts.
N. Y.	The New York Public Library, New York, N. Y.
N. Y. His.	The Library of the New York Historical Society, New York, N. Y.
N. Y. State.	The Library of the State, Albany, N. Y.
Penn. His.	The Library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
Phila.	The Library Company of Philadelphia, Philadelphia, Penn.
U. S.	The Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.
Wat.	The Watsonian Library, Hartford, Connecticut.
Yale.	The Library of Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.

¹ Liber 29, folio 347, Records Probate Court, New Haven County. The witnesses were well known lawyers and the wife of one of them. The will is not a holograph. The impression of Colonel Humphreys' seal is in red wax, and too indistinct to trace the armorial bearings.

1. A Poem Addressed to the Armies of the United States of America.
By a Gentleman of the Army.

*Jam fides, et pax, et honor pudorque
Priscus, & neglecta rediri virtus
Audet, apparetque beata pleno
Copia Cornu.
Horace*

*Incipiunt magni procedere menses.
Virg.*

New Haven: Printed by T. & T. Green. MDCCCLXXX.

16mo, pp. 16.

Athen., U. S., Yale.

The Same,

with author's name:

By David Humphreys, Esq., Colonel in the service of the United States and Aide de Camp to his Excellency, the Commander-in-Chief. New Haven; Printed by T. & T. Green, 1784.

No copy seems available for reference and comparison.

The Same,

with author's name as above.

New Haven: Printed by T. & T. Green.

Paris: Reprinted. 1785. n.p.

4to, pp. 28.

Athen., Harv., U. S., Yale (Brinley copy with the three letters of the author laid in).

The Same,

with author's name as above.

New Haven: Printed by T. & T. Green, 1784. Paris: Reprinted 1785; And at London, in the same year, for G. Hearsley, at No. 46 Fleet street (Price Two Shillings).

4to, pp. 28.

Brit. Mus., Harv., Yale.

The Same.

Discours en vers addressé aux officiers et aux Soldats des différentes armées américaines (avec introduction par le Marquis de Chastellux).

Paris: Perault, 1786.

8vo, pp. 66.

Athen., Bost. Pub., N. Y. State.

In this edition the French prose translation and the English text are on opposite pages. An introductory epistle to Colonel Hum-

phreys by the translator was prefixed to the "Address." The "Address" was printed in full in *The American Museum, or Universal Magazine* published in Philadelphia by Mathew Carey on pp. 230-240, vol. i., No. 3, March, 1787.

2. *The Glory of America; or Peace triumphant over War. A Poem.*

Philadelphia: Printed for the author by E. Oswald and D. Humphreys at the Coffee House. 1783.

8vo, pp. 16.

Penn. His., U. S.

While this poem was published anonymously and never included in the collected "Works" of Colonel Humphreys its style and language warrant the ascription of it to him. The same theme was expanded in a later poem.

3. *A Poem on the Happiness of America: addressed to the Citizens of the United States.*

London: 1786.

8vo, pp. 53.

Harv., N. Y. His.

The Same.

London: Printed 1786.

Hartford: Reprinted by Hudson and Goodwin, n.d. (1786).

4to, pp. 51.

Conn. His., Mass. His., Harv., R. I. His., U. S., Yale.

The Same.

Representation of seal of the United States on title-page.

London: Printed, 1786.

Portsmouth: Reprinted by George Jerry Osbourne, 1790.

8vo, pp. 45.

A. A. S., Brown Univ.

This "Poem" was printed in *The American Museum*, pp. 240-263, March, 1787.

4. *An Essay on the Life of the Honorable Major-General Israel Putnam: addressed to the State Society of the Cincinnati in Connecticut.*

By Col. David Humphreys.

Hartford: Printed by Hudson and Goodwin, MDCCCLXXXVIII.

Pp. vi., 187.

Athen., Harv., L. I., U. S., Yale.

The Same.

Middletown: Printed by Moses H. Woodward, for Hudson and Goodwin, MDCCXC.

12mo, pp. 168.

Harv., N. Y. (this copy in Gordon L. Ford Collection. Picture of Wolf Den inserted).

The Same. Philadelphia: Printed for Robert Campbell & Co., 1798.

12mo, pp. 125.

This edition omits the letter to Colonel Wadsworth.

Wat., Yale, N. Y.

The Same.

To which is annexed Two Poems: An Address to the Armies of the United States, and A Poem on the Happiness of America.

By Col. David Humphreys, Aide-de-Camp to General Washington during the American Revolution.

Printed and Published by McCarty & White, No. 46 Fair street. By permission. New York, 1810.

12mo, pp. 285.

N. Y. (from the Gordon L. Ford Collection, cut of Horseneck inserted).

The Same,

with "Address" and "Poem."

Philadelphia: Published by William McCarty. 1811.

12mo, pp. 285.

U. S.

The title of this and the previous edition are identical with these exceptions: Revolutionary War. Printed & published by &c. omits "by permission."

This edition is embellished with an engraving of the Heights of Abraham. The Life, including the Letter, is on pp. 3-188; the "Address," pp. 190-218; the Poem, pp. 222-285. This copy is from the Force Collection. The Poem on Happiness has been cut from the volume and bound separately. It is also in the Force Collection.

The Same.

Brattleborough: William Fessenden. 1812.

16mo, pp. 144.

A. A. S., Harv., U. S.

The Same.

Memoirs of the Life, Adventures and Military Exploits of Israel Putnam, Senior Major-General in the Revolutionary Army of the United States, and next in Rank to General Washington.

New York: Published by Evert Duyckinck, No. 102 Pearl Street, J. C. Totten, printer. 1815.

16mo, pp. 105.

N. Y., U. S., Yale.

In Yale University copy attributed to "S. Sweet."

It is, however, Colonel Humphreys' "Life," with several alterations in the text. The Letter to Col. Wadsworth is omitted, passage concerning Mrs. Howe, part of the Campaign of 1776 and 1777 are put in an appendix.

The Same.

An Essay on the Life of the Honourable General Israel Putnam, addressed to the Society of the Cincinnati, and first published by their order.

By Colonel David Humphreys, with Notes and Additions.

With an Appendix containing a Historical and Topographical Sketch of Bunker Hill Battle, by S. Sweet.

Boston: Published by Samuel Avery, No.
89 Court Street, 1818.

12mo.

N.Y., U.S., Yale.

Colonel Sweet has altered and transferred many passages of the "Life." He has added particulars concerning the Battle of Bunker Hill. In his appendix he gives a minute account of the part taken by each regiment in the Battle of Bunker Hill.

The Same.

The Life and Heroic Exploits of Israel Putnam, Major General in the Revolutionary War. Illustrated with plates from Original Designs. By Col. David Humphreys, Aide-de-Camp to General Washington, Minister Plenipotentiary to the Spanish Court. New York: Published by Ezra Strong. 1835.

16mo, pp. 190.

This edition is a reprint of that copyrighted in 1833 by Ezra Strong.

The plates are small wood engravings and include Bunker Hill, frontispiece, the Wolf Den, Going to Camp Little, Saving the Powder Magazine, Savages Roasting Putnam, Hearing of Lexington, Bunker Hill, and the Death of Warren.

The Letter and introductory portion of the "Life" are omitted. The volume commences with the paragraph on p. 15 of the original edition: "Israel Putnam, who through a regular gradation &c."

"The Life" as written by Col. Humphreys ends on p. 169. A fuller account of the Battle of Bunker Hill from Col. Sweet's "Account" is interpolated on pp. 79-102. A notice of the closing years of the General, the eulogy by Dr. Waldo, and the Epitaph by Dr. Dwight, are added. The anecdotes on pp. 175-190 are from Col. Sweet's "appendix."

A copy of this edition is in Yale University Library. A Hartford edition of 1833 with the title-page lacking is in the New York

Appendix

Public Library (Lenox Foundation, Gordon L. Ford Collection). A New York edition of 1834 is in the Library of Congress. They are all evidently from the same stereotype plates. Several other impressions were made from them at intervals to 1851. The editions in the New York Public Library are: Silas Andrus & Son, Hartford, 1847; Silas Andrus & Son, Hartford, 1851.

The Same.

Memoirs of the Life, Adventures, and Military Exploits of Israel Putnam, Senior Major General in the Revolutionary Army of the United States, and next in Rank to General Washington. Ithaca; Mack Andrus & Company. 1845.

16mo, pp. 141.

On cover, the same letter press as on title-page, with this imprint: Andrus, Gauntlett & Co., 1850.

This is practically the Strong edition, with larger extracts from the Sweet edition.

U. S.

The Same.

Life of Israel Putnam, Major-General in the Army of the United States, on the basis of the Memoirs by Colonel David Humphreys, His Companion in Arms.

New York: Shelden, Blakeman & Co., No. 115, Nassau St. 1856.

16mo, pp. 256.

This is a reprint of an edition copyrighted by Nafis and Cornish in 1847. In the preface after a eulogy of General Putnam as "one of the ablest and bravest officers to which this country has given birth," it is stated: "The following biography is based on the best memoir of him which has ever appeared, written by Colonel Humphreys, his companion in arms, and delivered as an address to the Society of the Cincinnati. But slight alterations from the original work have been made and those generally in the way of curtailment."

It is embellished with these woodcuts:

The Wolf Den, The Massacre at Fort William Henry, and The Boat Adventure.

There seems to be no later edition of the "Life" known.

Other lives of General Putnam are:

William Cutter, New York: George T. Coolidge & Bro. 1847.

Increase N. Tarbox, Boston: Lockwood, Brooks & Co. 1876.

O. J. Victor, New York: Beadle & Adams. 1876.

William Farrand Livingston, New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1901.

George Canning Hill, reprint with notes by Henry Ketcham. New York: A. L. Burt Co. 1903.

With the exception of the small paper bound sketch of Mr. Victor, all these writers acknowledge their indebtedness to Colonel Humphreys' "Essay," and quote from him.

5. Poems,
by Col. David Humphreys, late Aide-de-Camp to His Excellency, General Washington. 2d edition.
Philadelphia: Printed by Mathew Carey.
MDCCCLXXXIX.

12mo, pp. 90.

This edition contains the "Elegy" on Fairfield, the "Address," "Happiness," Epitaph on Col. Scammell, Mount Vernon, Elegy on Lieut. de Hart, The Monkey Who Shaved Himself, Ode to Laura, A Song, An Epithalamium, Letter to a Young Lady.

Several of the shorter poems were previously published in the *American Museum*, pp. 273-281, March, 1788, vol. iii.

Amer. Cong. Assoc., Athen., Brit. Mus., Harv., U. S., Yale.

The copy in the Library of Congress has this inscription:

"Presented to Ebenezer Hazard, Esq^r.

by his obliged h^{ble} Serv^t

Feb. 25, 1789. Mathew Carey"

6. The Miscellaneous Works of Colonel Humphreys.
(Cypher of H. A. C. in centre of title-page.)

New York: Printed by Hodge, Allen and Campbell, and sold at their respective book stores. MDCCXC.

8vo, pp. 348.

This volume contains:

A Dedication to the Duc de Rochefoucault.

Various critical and laudatory notices.

"Address."

"Happiness."

Miscellaneous Poems as in "Poems,"

The Widow of Malabar. A tragedy with prologue and epilogue.

Ode on Glory of Columbia.

Essay on Life of Gen. Putnam.

Oration before Connecticut Cincinnati, July, 1789.

Amer. Cong. Assoc., Athen., Bost. Pub., Brit. Mus., Harv., N. Y.
State, Phila. Libr. Co., Wat., U. S., Yale.

7. A Poem on Industry, Addressed to the Citizens of the United States of America, by Colonel David Humphreys, Minister Resident at the Court of Lisbon.

Philadelphia: Printed for Mathew Carey,
No. 118, Market Street, October 14, 1794.

8vo, pp. 22.

Athen., Bost. Pub., Brit. Mus., Harv., Mass. His., U. S.

This poem was reprinted by Mathew Carey in a volume of *Selections* in 1796.

8. Considerations on the Means of Improving the Militia for the Public Defence. In a Letter to his Excellency, Governor Trumbull.

Hartford: Printed by Hudson and Goodwin, 1803.

8vo, pp. 19.

Conn. His., U. S., Yale.

9. A Valedictory Discourse delivered before the Cincinnati of Connecticut, in Hartford, July 4, 1804, at the dissolution of the Society, by D. Humphreys, late Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States of America at the Court of Madrid.

Published at the request of the Society, Boston: Printed by Gilbert and Dean, No. 78, State street, 1804.

8vo, pp. 60.

A. A. S., Athen., Bost. Pub., Brit. Mus., Conn. His. Soc., Harv., Mass. His., Yale.

In an appendix, pp. 38-60, several topics of interest are treated:

- a. Notice of Col. Wadsworth.
- b. Louisiana Purchase.
- c. On free navigation of the Mississippi.
- d. No mines but such as shall be discovered by the plough.

Notes 1-7 give various opinions upon slavery.

A Poem is given on pp. 31-33: "Heard ye a voice?"

10. The Miscellaneous Works of David Humphreys, late Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States of America to the Court of Madrid.

New York: Printed by T. and J. Swords, No. 160 Pearl street, 1804.

8vo, pp. xv, 394. xiv.

Two plates, Col. Humphreys, Merino Sheep Medal.

This volume contains:

- a. Copyright certificate to Gilbert and Dean of Boston.
- b. Dedication to the Duke de Rochefoucault.
- c. Table of Contents.
- d. Recommendatory Extracts.
- e. Address to the Armies.
- f. Poem on the Happiness of America.
- g. Poem on the Future Glory of the United States.
- h. Remarks on the War between the United States and Tripoli, New Haven, Nov. 1, 1802.
- i. Thoughts on the Necessity of maintaining a Navy in the United States of America, addressed to the American People.

- j. A Poem on the Industry of the United States of America; written in Lisbon when the author was Minister at that Court.
- k. A Poem on the Love of Country, in celebration of the Twenty-third Anniversary of the Independence of the United States of America.
- l. A Poem on the Death of General Washington Pronounced at the House of the American Legation on the 4th day of July, 1800, being the Twenty-fourth Anniversary of the Independence of the United States of America.
- m. Occasional Poems. (Includes twelve sonnets, a farewell poem from Abbe O'Moore of Madrid to Col. Humphreys.)
- n. Essay on the Life of General Putnam.
- o. Oration on the Political Situation of the United States of America in the Year 1789. Pronounced before the State Society of Connecticut at New Haven, in celebration of the Thirteenth anniversary of Independence.
Published at the Request of the Society.
- p. Dissertation on the Breed of Spanish sheep called Merino. (Includes letter of Dr. Parker transmitting medal and Col. Humphreys' answer.)
- q. Considerations on the Means of Improving the Public Defence. In a letter to his Excellency, Governor Trumbull.
- r. Memorial of the Society of the Cincinnati in Connecticut with speech to the Governor and Council of Connecticut.
- s. Appendix, five letters of General Washington; order of the Day for Consular Guard and all the Troops of the Republic, issued by Napoleon Buonaparte, first Consul, on the death of Washington. Resolution of the Congress granting a sword to Col. Humphreys.
- t. Subscribers' Names. Table of Errata. Copies of this edition are found in the libraries of A. A. S., Athen., Bost. Pub., Brit. Mus., Harv., Mass. His. Soc., N. Y. His. Soc., R. I. His. Soc., U. S., Yale.

II. On a New Variety in the Breeds of sheep. In a letter to the Right Hon. Sir Joseph Banks, Bart. In *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*, 1813, pp. 88-95. Dated: Humphreysville in the State of Connecticut, November 11, 1811.
It describes a breed accidentally originated by Seth Wright of Dover on the Charles River, Massachusetts, known as the Otter, but which was named by Dr. Shattuck the Ancon breed.

12. The Yankey in England, a Drama in Five Acts.
12mo, pp. 110. 1815.

To this work, which was issued in Boston, is appended the first known glossary of Yankee words and phrases.

Athen., Yale.

13. A Discourse on the Agriculture of the State of Connecticut, and the means of making it more beneficial to the State: delivered at New Haven, on Thursday, 12th September, 1816. By David Humphreys, LL.D., Fellow of the Royal Society of London; Honorary Member of the Bath and West of England Society, President of the Society for promoting agriculture in the State of Connecticut; and a member of many scientific and Literary Societies in the U. S. of America.

New Haven: Printed by T. G. Woodward. 1818.

8vo, pp. 42.

Athen., Conn. His. Soc., Mass. His. Soc., U. S., Yale.

14. Letters from the Hon. David Humphreys, F.R.S., to the Rt. Hon. Sir Joseph Banks, President of the Royal Society, London; containing some account of the Serpent of the Ocean frequently seen in Gloucester Bay.

New York: Published by Kirk and Mercine, No. 22 Wall Street, 1817.

12mo, pp. 86.

Title on cover: "Some account of the Serpent of the Ocean, which was frequently seen in Gloucester Bay during the month of August, 1817."

Athen., Brit. Mus., Harv., Mass. His. Soc., Phila. Libr. Co., Yale.

15. The Conduct of General Washington respecting the confinement of Captain Asgill placed in its true point of light.

New York: Printed for the Holland Club. MDCCCLIX.

8vo, pp. x., 35.

This is one of two publications by this club. The preface gives an account of Philip White and Captain Hudder and the confinement of Captain Asgill. An appendix contains a letter of Gen. Washington to James Duane, Verplanck's Point, 30 September, 1782; Lady Asgill to Count de Vergennes; Count de Vergennes to General Washington, Versailles, 29 July, 1782.

The letters compiled by Colonel Humphreys originally appeared in the *New Haven Gazette*, November 6, 1786, and subsequent issues.

16. The Anarchiad: a New England Poem.

Written in Concert by David Humphreys, Joel Barlow, John Trumbull and Samuel Hopkins. Now first published in Book form, edited with notes and appendix, by Luther G. Riggs.

New Haven: Published by Thomas H. Pease, 382 Chapel street, 1861.

Six

Morris Town March 28th
1782

It is long since I have been
extremely solicitous to cut off all ^{communication} ~~inter-~~
course with the Enemy as much as is
practicable, and to regulate the affair of
sending & receiving Flags ^{less} as to prevent
all improper intercourse thro' that channel -
but not having yet been able fully to
digest a plan for the purpose (the
matter being now before the ^{Commissioners})
I can only repeat, that it is my earnest
wish that the number of Flags which
pass & repass may be as small as possible
(and that every attention may be paid
to prevent their being abused to illicit
purposes -

And in the mean time, you
will consider it as a positive standing
Order, that no Person coming from the

the Enemy's Lines or a flag of Truce,
shall be permitted to land & remain on
to go from ~~as into their Lines~~
shore, without liberty is first obtained
from the Executive of the State, the Secre-
tary at War, or myself - And indeed
I have made it an invarable rule
that liberty should be obtained from the
Civil Authority, previous to my granting
passports for any citizen or Civil charac-
ters to come ~~under the protection~~ within our
Lines, or go into the Enemy's -

I am with great regard
Yrs

your most Obedt Servt.
Geo Washington

16mo, pp. vii., 120.

The first number in its original form was in the *New Haven Gazette*,
October 26, 1786.

VII

MISCELLANEOUS LETTERS

FROM WASHINGTON

(In Humphreys' handwriting)

MORRIS TOWN, March 28th, 1782.

SIR:—

It is long since I have been extremely solicitous to cut off all communication with the Enemy as much as is practicable, and to regulate the affair of sending & receiving Flags so as to prevent all improper intercourse thro' that chanel but not having yet been able fully to digest a plan for the purpose (the matter being now before the Commissioners). I can only repeat, that it is my earnest wish that the number of Flags which pass & repass may be as small as possible and that every attention may be paid to prevent their being abused to illicit purposes.

And in the mean time, you will consider it as a positive standing Order, that no Person coming from the Enemy's Lines in a flag of Truce, shall be permitted to land & remain on shore, or to go from us into their Lines without liberty is first obtained from the Executive of the State, the Secretary, at War, or myself—and indeed I have made it an invariable rule that liberty should be obtained from the Civil Authority previous to my granting passports for the Citizens or Civil Characters to come within our Lines, or go into the Enemy's.

I am with great regard

Sir

Your most obed. Sev't

(signed) GO. WASHINGTON.

COL. DAYTON.

Appendix

HUMPHREYS TO THOMAS PINCKNEY

LISBON, Jany 23rd. 1793.

SIR:

I am sorry to have the disagreeable office of informing you of the death of Mr. Thomas Barclay, Consul of the U. S. for Morocco. He arrived here on Tuesday of last week from Cadiz, and died (as is supposed of an inflammation in his lungs) on the Saturday following. He received safely at Cadiz, on the 24th of December, all the papers which you addressed to him by Mr. Cravath and he explained in a cyphered letter to the Secretary of State the necessity he found himself under of coming here to raise the money he had occasion for; which he supposed might be done by communicating the business to me only. Two days before his death we were at the Exchange together, & he made arrangements for passing his bills on you accordingly. But happily I have been able to have those arrangements dispensed with, without inconvenience or expense to the United States.

The day preceding that in which Mr. Barclay died he felt himself so much incommoded as to be obliged mostly to keep his bed. I had however, a long conversation with him on business, and when I parted with him he expressed an expectation of being well enough, in two or three days, to proceed in the execution of the objects with which he was charged. The next morning I was sent for early, and finding his life despaired of by the physicians, I immediately took possession of all the papers which were contained in the dispatches from you to him. From that time he was never able to pronounce more than one or two words at once, or to give any information or direction on any subject whatsoever. I am confident you may rest satisfied, there is no person in existence, excepting myself, who has been made acquainted, in the smallest degree, with the contents of the Dispatches in question, since they left your hand. For fear of farther accidents I have judged it expedient to retain them for the present; subject to your orders or those of the Secretary of State. Of all which particulars, I am accordingly giving information to him.

Knowing that Mr. Barclay, about fourteen months ago, carried from Lisbon to Gibralter property of the U. S. to a considerable amount, destined to be employed in the negotiations at Morocco; and not finding among the papers he brought here, any Documents to shew in whose possession he left that property, I have considered it highly necessary to go myself to Gibralter to ascertain the fact, and, if possible to prevent that property from being lost or embezzled. Of which I am also apprising the Secretary of State, and asking his farther instructions therein. I shall probably set out from this place for that Garrison in a few days.

With sentiments of the highest esteem and consideration, I have the honour to be,

Sir

Your most obedient &

Most humble servant

D. HUMPHREYS.

The Honble

THOMAS PINCKNEY, Esq.

Minister Plenipotentiary, etc.

WASHINGTON TO GREENE

HEAD QUARTERS NEWBURGH

Dec'r 18th, 1782.

MY DEAR SIR:—

By the Southern Mail of last Week, I received your Letter of the 4th of Oct'r enclosing the Returns of your Army: and I am just now favored with that of the 11th of Nov'r covering the Returns for the Month of October. As I find by the latter, you had received Mine of the 23rd of Sept'r I can have no occasion to suggest any thing further at this time respecting the disposition of the Troops, after the Enemy shall have abandoned the Southern States—the latitude already given, will in sufficient manner I believe, enable you, to act for the public good, as the state of affairs may then seem to demand.

There had been during the Summer much speculation, and many conjectures that New York would be evacuated before winter, as I informed you in my last Letter which was dated the 18th of Oct'r but at the same time mentioned "I had no such idea" and the event has justified my opinion. I am not without expectations, however, that a detachment will be made in the course of the Winter to the West Indies: indeed many appearances strongly indicate this, or, at least, that some orders of embarkation are expected, such as the great preparation of Transports there being now about 120 collected from various quarters, lying in the east River compleatly fitted for Sea, and reports still continue to assert, that several thousand British Troops will yet be detached.

The sailing of the Fleet from New York in two divisions, I suppose must have been well known in Carolina, as in all probability, the last Squadron served to convey a part of the Garrison of Charles Town to the West Indies, agreeably to your expectation. But, I imagine, you could not have learned (it having been a secret to this time which it was not prudent to commit to paper) that the Orders of the Court of Versailles to the Count de Rochambeau (who is himself about to sail for France) were that the Corps under his Orders should go to the West Indies, in case the evacuation of New York or Charles Town should take place. In expectation that the latter would happen, the french Army marched into the eastern States, towards the last of Oct'r under pretext of taking winter Quarters there, but in fact with the design of embarking on board the Fleet of the Marquis de Vandreuil at Boston, whenever the event on which their ultimate movement depended, became sufficiently ascertained. From the general concurrence of intelligence and a variety of circumstances the Enemy's intention to leave Charles Town has approached so near to a certainty; that all the Army of His Most Christian Majesty (excepting the Legion of Lauzan which remains behind) have embarked, and are to sail in two days from this time. As soon as this Fleet is clear off the Coast and the destination of the Troops shall be positively known in New York (as I observed before) it appears not improbable a considerable Corps of

British will be sent to Jamaica; for the safety of which Island, the apprehensions of the Enemy appear to be very much alarmed, on account of the large force at the Havanna, and the arrival of the Marquis de Bouille with a reinforcement from France. How far the Combined Powers will in reality prosecute a serious Operation in that quarter, since the failure of the attempt against Gibralter, (of the relief of which by the Fleet under Lord Howe, you will I dare say have heard before this reaches you) or how far the last mentioned circumstance will tend to hasten or retard a general Pacification; I cannot undertake to determine with certainty. Many Politicians imagine, that the fewer capital advantages either of the Belligerent Powers in Europe has over the other, the smaller will be the obstacles that will present themselves in the course of the negotiation for Peace—but almost every thing respecting this business, in my opinion, will rather depend on the strength or weakness of Shelburne's & Fox's parties in the British Parliament.

To wait Events & profit by the occasions which may occur, I have concentered the Army to a point as much as possible. At West Point & the Cantonment four miles from this place is our whole force; except the Rhode Island Regiment at the northward, and one or two Corps on the Lines—this Army indeed is not numerous, but the efficient strength is greater in proportion to the total numbers than ever it has been. The Troops are tolerably well appointed, and have improved very much in their discipline during the last Campaign.

The Enemy's regular force in New York, I compute to be between ten and eleven thousand—should they weaken themselves by a detachment of 4 or 5000 men, and still attempt to hold that Garrison another Campaign it would be an indelible blot to the reputation of this Country, not to furnish sufficient Means for enabling us, to expel them from the Continent. And yet I am forced to confess, I have accustomed myself not to be over sanguine in any of my calculations, especially when I consider the want of energy in Government, and the want of that disposition in too many of the People,

which once influenced them chearfully to yield a part to defend the remainder of their property.

Thus, My dear Sir, have I given for your own private satisfaction, a pretty general detail of the affairs of our Allies, Ourselves, & our Enemies, in this part of the Continent. Hoping and expecting the Southern States will be restored to perfect tranquility, before this is delivered to you; I have only to add that Mrs. Washington joins me in requesting Mrs. Greene and yourself to accept our best wishes and Compliments.

COMMON ANCESTRY OF DAVID HUMPHREYS AND OZIAS HUMPHREYS, R.A.

After this volume had come from the press the author received a letter from his kinsman Mr. John Humphreys Johnstone, the artist, living in Venice, Italy, stating that he had been making a careful search of the parish registers of Dorset and Devonshire, England. There he had found convincing evidence that Michael Humphrey, the ancestor of David Humphreys, and John Humphrey, the patentee of the Massachusetts Colony, were descended from a common ancestor in England, one Michael Humphrey, who was also the ancestor of Ozias Humphreys.

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